David Lacey at Wembley

LONG-AWAITED touch of alchemy from a substitute. Oliver Bierhoff, won the European Championship for Germany on Sunday night in a Wemb-The golden moment owed something to a goalkeeper's shaking hand but it spared the tournament the agonies of an ultimate shoot-out.

Having come off the German bench to equalise almost straightaway, Bierhoff scored again in the fifth minute of sudden-death overtime to defent a Czech Republic team whose stylish football had belied their earlier reticence.

Patrik Berger had given the Czechs the lead with a controversial penalty just before the hour. Bierroff came on in the 69th minute and equalised three minutes later.

Then, after four-and-n-half minutes of extra-time, Bierhoff turned on a ball from Klinsmann and saw Kouba only half-save his shot, which had enough momentum to carry it into the net.

A mixture of celebration and con fusion followed. As the ball went in a linesman's flag was raised for offbench crupted on to the field in exultation. Eventually the Italian referce Pierluigi Pairetto consulted his fellow official and decided that Kuntz had not been interfering with play. The goal stood.

So the Germans won the European title for the first time since 1980 and the third time in all. It was their first honour since reunifica- | fell awkwardly and was carried off.

4. Space for pulp developed in the

8 Everywhere it's absolutely

Tree needs work around \$t.

11 English girl, Italian boy, and

David's day (8)

decay on a tree (9)

with painter (5)

finished business (3, 4, 3, 4)

genuine student missing (6)

12 Chopper needed when there's

15. When a boy's about like 17 and

17 Philosopher of the first degree

Cryptic crossword by Araucaria

When the Czechs took the lead, Vogts's team looked in deep trouble. Already weakened by injuries and suspensions, they lost Eilts at the end of the first half. His absence left the defence badly exposed but Bierhoff's first goal changed everything and his second left the Czechs fac-

The Czecha deserved some sym pathy from a near-capacity crowd, for their ability to match the Germans on the counter-attack and the superior rhythm of many of their movements did much to make the final a better apectacle than many had expected.

Despite thin resources, Vogts still won the match - Klinsmann returned to the German attack and stayed on to the end but his injured call restricted his movements. Ziege, on the other hand, was back

The Czechs created two early chances but Berger and Poborsky scorned both, and Germany all but went ahead 11 minutes before halftime when Kuntz's volley bent Kouba but Rada hooked it clear.

In the 41st minute Kuntz had only Kouba to beat but the Czech bravely blocked his shot. A minute later Koka dispossessed Eilts on the left to set himself up with a similar chance but Kopke emulated

Eilts's final had another two minutes to run. On the stroke of halftime he missed a tackle on Nemec,

companion to the French, Mary

Queen of Scots, was held (9)

19 Plant a runner, perhaps, put in

21 Look into questionable firsts

with a lot of bloomers (8)

25 One sees perfection - one is

1 Give executors the go-ahead

with note about including an

be soon put out (14)

older, possibly (8)

26 Money for jam? (5)

24 Bauxite mixed with shingle may

tion, Vogts's first success as national | Bode replaced him for the second

Chance for chance, the Czechs were still Germany's equals and two minutes before the hour they were ahead. Kuka won an important header to find Poborsky, who advanced towards the right-hand corner of the penalty area, where Sammer made a lunging challenge outside the 18-yard line.

He made minimal contact, if indeed any at all, but Poborsky flew through the air into the area, the penalty was awarded amid German protests and Berger, Sammer's drove in the spot-kick.

Eilts was now badly missed and Helmer and Sammer were cautioned for panic-stricken body-Enter Blerhoff, Within three minutes Ziege floated over a free-kick from the right and who else but Bierhoff should get on the end of it to head the scores level?

Germany grew stronger towards the end of normal time. Only a superb tackle by Rada denied Klins-mann, and Kopke did well to push wide a shot from Smicer, who had come on for Poborsky.

Somehow one knew that extraime would not go the distance, and so it soon proved. Twenty years after losing a European Champion ship final to Czechoslovakia in a penalty shoot-out Germany had achieved some redress.

Uefa is unlikely to abandon the sudden-death principle now, It is sadistic but on Sunday night, for the first time in the tournament, it did

insect, an expert filer (5, 7)

5 Like this little house in London

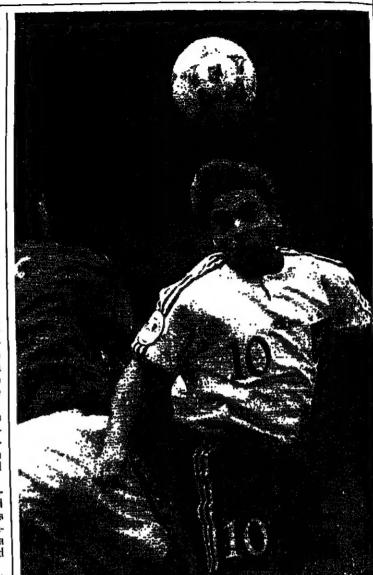
(4) 6 Bitter end, nearly, when it's

3 Not dead meat? (5)

4 A break in the post for

dispersing files (4'1-4)

Muslim claim: is it (lexible? (9)



Ahead of the game . . . Germany's Thomas Hassler in the midst of the midfield dogfight at Wembley PHOTOGRAPH: NEAL SIMPSON

Cycling Tour de France

Sprint start hit by go-slow

William Fotheringham

THE last time the Tour started in tranquil outside (9) Holland, in Leiden in 1978, the 7 Ancient bishop at ancient city creates a stink (5) organisers ruled that the prologue 9 Corndor for drugs going to stall time-trial should merely be an exhiif not kept up (7, 5) bition race after torrential rain made 13 Equestrian event: only a trip will the cobbled course into a skating rink. Eighteen years on, and one

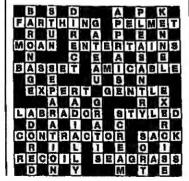
spoil it (4, 5) 4. A device on a banner is better than one on gold (9)

16 Home base keeps brother or sister out of sight (9)

20, 1 across Clue for girl student: 17, 23, 3, 19, 4 across 15 26, etc. (5, 5)

22 King — of Israel — and harlot (5)

Last week's solution



from measures taken to protect cyclists and pedestrians from cars in one of the most densely populated parts of Europe. Awkwardly placed kilometre-long "rumble" strips of bricked road, sleeping policemen and cobbles made for a course which would have taken a bloody

from start to finish. Mario Cipollini, the king of the sprinters, crossed the line in third out was later relegated to 37th place, the second blow to his Tuscan pride in two days. After the pro-

toll had the riders decided to race

wearing a pair of strikingly crimson shorts to match his Italian national champion's jersey. His crime on Sunday was to have cut up Frederic Moncassin 250 metres from the line, but poetic justice was done ond wind and came through to wia.

The days' final three miles showed what might have been if the day after an uneventful prologue racers had had a course on which it won by Alex Zülle, the 197 cyclists was safe to race. Prominent at the front was Miguel Indurain, all too effectively made a similar decision over a road stage.

They did this with what aware that crucial seconds can be lost in this kind of hectic finish. In deed the redoubtable Swiss Tony amounted to a collective go-slow Rominger dropped 9sec and Chris over the most dangerous opening stage in recent years. Before Sun-Boardman 15sec - falling from secday's 130-mile circuit of this southond to eighth overall - to the other favourites, who all finished in the ern Dutch town, the whole field had one thing on their minds: staying

lend group with Big Mig.
Indurain was probably also kee to show that the 12sec he lost w Paradoxically, the danger came Zülle in the prologue, where all the rent Jalabert finished ahead of him came from taking the slippery carners with caution rather the human weakness on his part.

Meanwhile, Spanish team ONCE were told that the aerodynamically sophisticated time-trial bikes they used on Saturday were now bat and that the team faced a SwFi0,000 (\$8,000) fine — even though text members had been using them it. competition since February.

William Fotheringen is features logue he was fined SwF50 (\$40) for | editor of Cycling Weekly

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as the control of the UN digs up Bosnia war crimes site

ORENSIC investigators from the United Nations used a mechanical digger to remove the topsoil from a northern Bosnian hillside this week as work began to exhume thousands of victims of last year's Srebrenica massacre.

The use of an industrial-size digger reflects the scale of the task. In what is probably the worst atrocity Europe has witnessed since the sec-ond world war, Bosnian Serb separatists are thought to have executed most of the 8,000-strong adult male population of Srebrenica after they werran the Muslim enclave exactly a year ago. The exhumation of bodes is expected to take three months and will concentrate on 12 suspected mass graves.

It began on a stifling hot after-noon on Sunday as a dozen hired Serb labourers cleared under-growth from a hillside beside a dust rack near the hamlet of Cerska, 30km northwest of Srebrenica. The digger manoeuvred down the slope and began scooping away the top-soil. The area had earlier been checked for mines.

Tribunal investigators - working from the testimony of survivors — found the remains of four bodies when they dug three small ex-ploratory holes at the Cerska site in May. They have no doubt it is a mass grave and believe they will find many more bodies this week. "I'm confident we'll get to the evi-dence that's there," said William Haglund, one of the UN team.

The UN hired Serb labourers from the Sarajevo area to do much of the manual work. The workers walked up the dirt track to Cerska carrying hoes, spades, and picks, and pushing wheelbarrows. They refused to talk to the press and remonstrated with photographers. Many Bosnian Serbs view collaboration with The Hague war crimes tribunal as treachery.

UN investigators believe Muslim prisoners, caught last July while trying to flee Srebrenica, were lined up on the roadside, shot and pushed into pits in the embankment below. Evewitness accounts and satellite



photographs at the time suggest | Tuzia, where they will be examined similar mass executions occurred in a special morgue. north and west of Srebrenica.

More Srebrenica Muslims were killed in ambushes as they tried to escape to government-held terri-tory, and left to rot where they fell. In a separate UN initiative, a Finnish led team began removing those bodles from a hillside near Kravice,

10km north of Srebrenica. The human remains exhumed around Srebrenica will be transin a special morgue. Three thousand men from

brenica are known to have been

killed. The missing 5,000 are presumed dead. The remains recovered in the next three months are expected to provide ample evidence of atrocities, but it is unlikely that many o the remains will be identified.

The main bottleneck in the tribunal's work has been the refusal of ported in refrigerated trucks to the Bosnian Serbs to hand over Bosnian government-held town of suspects such as their leader,

Radovan Karadzic, and their military boss, General Ratko Mladic. However, international pressure was growing this week for tougher action against the Bosnian Serb leaders indicted for war crimes, including genocide.

Officials of the Contact Group on Bosnia — the US, France, Britain, Russia and Italy — were due to meet in London on Wednesday to consider what to do. Options range from a military operation to seize the two men to economic sanctions against the Republika Srpska.

Ulster tense as loyalist violence flares

David Sharrock

CERIOUS sectarian violence this week as Unionist anger soared over the police's refusal to allow Draugemen at Drumerce to parade ast nationalist areas in Portadown. scores of vehicles were hijacked and set alight. In south Belfast police fired plastic bullets at rioters.

By Inte Monday, on the second day of the stand-off between police and Protestant marchers, almost every town in Northern Ireland had roads blocked by loyalists. The interbusiest harbour, were scaled off.

The Portadown stand-off came as police blockaded an Orange Order church parade on the outskirts of the staunchly loyalist town, which was the scene last year of another ugly confrontation between police and marchers, Last year's march went ahead after residents of the overwhelmingly Catholic Garvaghy Road gave their reluctant permission to allow the Orangemen to complete their 189-year-old tradiional route. This year there is no vidence of a mood of compromise.

Out of anger that a traditional Orange march was being blocked, the main Unionist parties pulled out of the all-party talks at Stormont in another sign that the "peace process" is expiring.

On Sunday, a taxi driver was shot n the back of the head after being called out in Lurgan. Police said they believed the paramilitary UI ster Volunteer Force was responsible for Michael McGoldrick's death. German police issued an arrest warrant for Robert Dickson, aged 31, wanted for questioning about the recent IRA mortar attack on the British army barracks at Osnabrtick.

Poll win leaves Yelstin weary

New PM brings Kabul little hope

Labour throws down the gauntlet

11

Nigeria's delta

BF75 DK18 FM 10 FF 13 DR 400

International Court fudges nuclear arms ruling Trident nuclear missile force outlaws the use, or threat of use, David Fairhall and of nuclear weapons per se". would have ignored the court's **Richard Norton-Taylo** hatøver itø fin The court had been asked by

HE use of or threat to use nuclear weapons in war would "generally" be unlawful, the International Court of Justice said this week. But it avoided ruling on whether such arms should be banned in an ex-

treme case of self-defence when

a state's survival was at stake. The Hague court made the surprise rulings in response to requests from the UN General Assembly and the World Health Organisation, as it emerged that the commanders of Britain's

"If the court were to deliver an adverse opinion it would be ignored by the nuclear powers," Captain David Humphrey, the chief naval judge advocate, advised earlier this year. In a private legal opinion seen by the Guardian, he said it was "inconcelvable . . . that the nuclear powers would be presently prepared to relinquish possession

of nuclear weapons. He argued that there was no apecific rule of international law, expressed or implied, which | logical weapons. Nevertheless, it

the General Assembly for an ad-

visory opinion on whether the threat or use of nuclear weapons is "in any circumstance permitted under international law". Its ambivalent answer, derided on the casting vote of the president after the court split

7-7, was regarded as disappoint ing by some anti-nuclear campaigners. They had hoped it would be a first step to getting nuclear arms banned in the same way as chemical and blo-

is widely regarded in the international community as a significant development in emerging post-cold war jurisprudence. The court's non-binding opin

on was decided by a costing from its Algerian president, Mohammed Bedjaoui. The judges finally declared: "The threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflicts, and in particular the principles and rules of humanitarian law." Forty-three governments

made written aubmissions and 22 testified during 11 days of hearings. Australia and New Zealand led the call for nuclear arsenals to be outlawed.

of discontent **Dutch treat** 32 at Wimbledon

DK16 Norwey NK 16 FM 10 Portugal E300 FF 13 Saucil Aueble SR 6.50 DM 4 Spain P 300 DR 400 Sweden SK 19 L 3,000 Switzerland SF 3,30

Ratko Mladic and other indicted war criminals is poisoning the peace process, threatening the forthcom-ing elections, and undermining the sharply limited. Freedom of the authority and viability of the International Criminal Tribunal for the tailed and violence against ethnic former Yugoslavia.

UN Security Council Resolution 1031 charged the International Implementation Force (I-For) with ensuring compliance with the Dayton peace agreement, which includes a requirement that all parties co-operate with the tribunal. Article 29 of the tribunal's statute sets forth the various forms of co-operation that are due, including "the identification and location of persons", "the arrest or detention of persons", and "the surrender or the transfer of the accused to the international tribunal".

With the Bosnian government threatening to pull out of the elections if Karadzic and Mladic are not apprehended, and Chief Prosecutor Richard Goldstone expressing in creasing concern about the fate of the tribunal without their apprehension, securing the arrest and sur render of these two mass murderers should be the Western governments' top priority in Bosnia.

However, Western leaders continue to block the use of I-For troops to arrest indicted war criminals. Indeed, failure to bring these men to trial places many more lives at risk in Bosnia and elsewhere, by sending the signal that there is no price to be paid for genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, whether committed against civilians or international troops.

The presence in office of the indiabuses over the past four years has

THE CONTINUED presence in Bosnia of Radovan Karadzic. of refugees and internally displaced of refugees and internally displaced people cannot return home, and that political opportunities for anyminorities and opposition figures is on the rise. National elections - a key step in the peace process - cannot meaningfully take place while Karadzic and Mladic remain at large.

We urge European heads of state to order the troops under their command to make an immediate and urgent priority of locating these fugitives and identifying circumstances when I-Por can arrest them on favourable terms. Jan Willem Bertens, Willy de Clera. Baroness Caroline Cox, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Otto von Habsburg, (Prof) Jasminka Kavaric Glenys Kinnock MEP, Bernard Kouchner, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Michel Rocard, Sir David Steel, Simon Wiesenthal, and 178 others, c/o Human Rights Watch, London

CANNOT understand how anybody who believes in the peace process in Bosnia can imagine that one-sided action by I-For against Karadzic and Mladic will increase the chance of the present armed truce lasting beyond the end of the year (A commitment to Bosnia, July 7). I do not doubt that there is a strong legal case against the two warlords, but the size of their following among the Bosnian Serbs will ncrease, not decrease, if the West ontinues to apply such hypocritical double standards.

man, whose Croatian regime

. Card expliv date

Krailna Serb civilians, persecuted the Italian minority in Istria, and, via proxies, massacred the Muslims of Mostar, is treated as a war criminal and not a world statesman, there seems little hope that the Serb people will abandon the militaristic ationalist leadership that led them to disaster in the 1990s. (Dr) Tobias Abse.

Goldsmith's College, London

Cover-up over Indonesia

WHAT A wry coincidence that you report (July 7) the terrible death of Veronica Guerin in Dublin on June 26 and note that more than 20 journalists around the world have been assassinated since 1996, and carry in the same issue the news of Greg Sheridan's finding that elx Australian journalists who died in East Timor in 1975 were (probably) killed by Indonesian troops — brutality the Suharto government has denied for 21 years.

That is a disgracefully long delay in even partial truth-telling, and it's unlikely we would have it now but for the extraordinary, single-handed fight of Shirley Shackleton, whose 9-year-old husband, Greg (Channel

reporter), was one of the victims.
Nothing could demonstrate more humiliatingly to the world Australian governments' fundamental terror of arrogant, Indonesian military government (18 million people against nearly 200 million) than their desperate cover-up of this among other atrocities, since abandoning West Papua to Indonesia's invasion in 1962.

One might have hoped this revelation would end a whole generation of shameful, diplomatic pussy-footing; but Alexander Downer, our mbling new foreign minister, gives every sign of resuming the honoured stance, instead of demanding Jakarta's co-operation in tunately, the Australian press coninues to do the same: Murdoch's Australian (whose editor-in-chief, Paul Kelly, happens to be on the board of the Australia-Indonesia Institute) says "the matter should now be considered closed".

By submitting meekly to Indone-sian high-headedness, our cowardly government and press must share n international responsibility for both the Dili massacre and the fate this year of two of the 24 hostages of OPM rebels desperate for the world attention they deserve and have been deprived of.

Noel McLachlan, Albert Park, Victoria, Australia

Righteous

[HAD planned to visit Burms this Bennett's article (Why the right people choose to stay home, June 23) about travellers supporting dictatorships. Instead I chose Europe. Tickit this is a renewal order [4] But since the British and French supply the weapons that keep the dictatorships alloat and the Germans refuse to take in any more refugees, I had to cancel that trip, too. America and China, of course, were out of the question. I then decided to visit some friends in the languese countryside until realising that these are the very people who | Cardiff, Wales.

forcibly evicted 300,000 Serbs from are stripping southeast Asia of its Croatia, murdered thousands of hardwood forests.

This summer I will be locking myself in my apartment with a three-week supply of groceries. Perhaps I will find an Internet web site for disgruntled homebodies where Catherine Bennett and I can congratulate ourselves on our self-right eous isolationism. Tom Weverka. Tokyo, Japan

O Catherine Bennett thinks we should all give up being tourists and reading travel guides, and just let the journalists tell us all about all those terrible places. I imagine those nasty despots will not balk at the loss of trade, since they will be relieved to know they only have to put up a front for a few of the privi-leged profession. No nosy foreigners will be poking their noses in trying to learn about the culture or make friends with the natives. Perhaps we can all consult the Internet for the current locations we are supposd to visit or not visit before book-

Which democratically minded journalist will edit and update it? Angela Rogers, Bandung, Indonesia

Silence of intellectuals

ERIC HOBSBAWM bemoans the fact that "a wide gap now separates the politicians of the British Labour Party from the intellectuals of the left" (If the truth be told, June 30). However, he admits the gap is not about the party's politica stance. Only "a few palaeolithic sec tarian survivals" would question that. If the left "must fall back on pragmatic policies", what is the role or the intellectuals? It seems they are there to speak the unspeakable: . in political situations which dare not speak their name, there is a role for . . . Labour intellectuals . . . "

What does this mean? We shouldn't question policy, just speak out about "the unleashing of market forces"? I thought intellectuals engaged in understanding, thinking, analysing and reasoning. I see little of this in Hobsbawm's article, in which he concedes that the intellectual stuffing has been knocked out of the left over the past 20 years. If this is his idea of a comeback, God help us. Tim Heffernan,

TONY BLAIR'S decision to impose a referendum on a Welsh assembly and a Scottish parliament is an affront to the people of these countries. It is yet another example of the Labour leadership running scared of the Conservatives and bowing to the agenda of a party which is completely isolated on this issue in both Wales and Scotland.

The Labour parties of Wales and St Louis, Missouri, USA Scotland had already decided to press ahead with plans for devolution without the need for a referendum. The only bodies entitled to change this decision are the Welsh and

Scottish conferences of the party. The only people who have welcomed this move are those within the Labour party who oppose any kind of Welsh assembly or Scottish parliament. The referendum will be used as a delaying tactic by such opponents and delay the establishment of the Welsh and Scottish bodies. Annabelle Harle, Ceri Evans,

Briefly ON THE front page of the Guardian Weekly, Matthew

Engel (Mirror back on the warpath June 30) rightly condemns the Daily Mirror for its tasteless treatment of Germany in the European Champi onship. But on the back page is the headline: Seaman's handiwork sinks Armada. Not in the same league as the Daily Mirror, I agree, but rather thoughtless and cliched all the

A Spanish colleague commente that he would never have expected the Guardian Weekly of all papers to trot out such a weary old historical stereotype, even for the sake of a pun. After all, if England had beaten Germany, you wouldn't have had "Seaman sinks U-boats", would you?

THE British Red Cross advertise ment (What the women of Phnom Penh are wearing, June 9) is nisleading. On the streets of Phnom Penh you are much more likely to see amputee soldiers, with or without prosthetics.

Most female land-mine victims incur their injuries in remote rural areas; they lack the resources and support to come to Phnom Penh for treatment, supposing they know about prosthetics in the first place. The British Red Cross is to be

congratulated for drawing attention to female land-mine victims in Cam bodia. However, much needs to be done if more women are to have access to prosthetic treatment.

Rachel Gough, Siem Reap, Cambodia

IT WAS a shock to find out (June 23) that Sweden has a new prime minister, Goran Persson. Still, the old prime minister, Göran Persson, seems to be carrying on as if nothing happened. Could this possibly be the same person suffering from the English-speaker's phobia for funny letters and accents?

The Scandinavian letters å, ä, ö, a and ø are reckoned as being letter in their own right (in Scandinavia, a least), and are not merely irrelevancles or a and o with funny accents.

Judging by the June 23 issue you have no problem with Möller, Tügüt, Juppé, Provençal and Châtelet, so there shouldn't be any problem with surströmming and remmegrat (apart from the fact that combining these two delicacies would probabl result in serious projectile vomiting Pete Norman, Stockholm, Sweden

IS Natasha Walter capable of ap preciating straightforward writing (Review of Heat Wave, June 23)? Here is the authentic voice of late 20th century pseudo-highbrow criticism laced with Booker envy.

The Guardian

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AT LEAST 237 people have been killed in worsening summer floods across south China that have stranded 1 million people and affected more than 20 million others, the gov ernment said last week. Damage exceeds \$2 billion

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

and 3.2 million acres of crops have been destroyed, the civil affairs ministry said. Soldiers have evacuated 560,000 people from hundreds of villages. Reports said thousands of businesses ad been forced to shut down. The highest death toll was in the south-western province of

Guizhou, one of China's poorest areas, where 136 people were reported killed, many by landalides. One hit the train station in the provincial capital of Guiyang, where soldiers (right) reinforce a dam.

Devastating flooding strikes every summer in south China, where centuries of intensive farming have stripped away vegetation and damaged solls needed to catch rain. -AP



Ailing Yeltsin backed for second term

David Hearst and James Meek in Moscow

ORIS YELTSIN was deci-sively vindicated last week in his uncompromising start gle against a communist comeback through the ballot box. But the effort of beating Gennady Zyuganov, the Communist leader, in the final round of presidential elections may have damaged the president's health too severely for him to savour the victory.

Results gave Mr Yeltsin a solid 14 per cent lead over Mr Zyuganov on a strong turnout of nearly 68 million. Mr Yeltsin won nearly 54 per cent of the popular vote. The election was judged fair and

free by observers from the Organisation for Security and Co-operation n Europe and by the European Parlament, though they expressed concern at the strong media bias in Mr Yeltsin's favour.

Mr Yeltsin, with an energy belying his ill health, got quickly down to work, reappointing Viktor Chernomyrdin as prime minister and asking him to form a new gov-

The outcome of the run-off election came as a relief to the Yeltsin camp after desperate attempts to disguise the fact that the sick and awkwardly moving president had cast his vote from a private sanatorium. The 65-year-old president was filmed by his own cameras casting his vote in Barvikha, the élite sanatorium in which he spent a month

recovering after two mild heart at-tacks last year.

Armed Forces. Mr Lebed also ex-pects real control over the tinancial the autumn, who better to jettison The killer instinct in Mr Yeltsin

will want to press home his advantage and fight on until he wrests control of parliament from the Communist opposition, but political reality and his uncertain health dictate otherwise. He needs to create as broad a government as he can. Indeed, he made a plea for national reconciliation and hinted he

would find a role in government for the defeated opposition. "Let us not divide the country into the victorious and the vanquished." the president declared in a televised address

Now is the time for paying back political debts, and General Alexander Lebed is first in the queue. Without the former general's support Mr Yeltsin could not have made it. Mr Lebed wants real power and he wants it now. So far he has been given two important posts, but both are advisory rather than executive ones - presidential security

adviser and secretary of the security council. But he will allow the sick president no rest. The growling general wants to be made vice-president, a post that does not exist under the constitu-

tion. And he has threatened to quit if he does not get his way on the choice of defence minister. He made this threat by refusing to consider anyone for the post other than his candidate, General Igor Rodionov, currently head of the

Academy of the General Staff of the

than his prime minister? Mr Veltsin also wants to bring in

to his military Industrial lobby. If Mr Yeltsin allows himself to be dragged down Mr Lebed's road, the government and ultimately the state will grow steadily more authori-Mr Lebed, who described himself with a smile as "half a democrat", is an admirer of Chile's General

Plnochet. The model he is pushing for is a Latin American one - a state that allows its business élite to modernise it, but which keeps ruth-Mr Yeltsin needs to put a heavy counterweight to Mr Lebed. That

levers, particularly those used by

the dismissed deputy premier, Oleg

Soskovyets, who channelled funds

he might yet find in Mr Chernomyrdin. His centrist prime minister representing the oil and gas lobby, is already an enemy of Mr Lebed. He is on record as saying: "Lebed has enough powers." If he stays in power, Mr Cherno-

myrdin could be a useful sacrifice for the economic difficulties in September, when a hungry people will be demanding their August salaries and the state will not be able to pay. The Communist opposition will

also be happy to see Mr Chernomyrdin remain where he is. Whereas Mr Lebed bears no responsibility for the catastrophic fall in industrial output over the past five years of market reform, Mr Chernomyrdin, who has been around since 1993, surely does. If

brigory Yavlinsky, the last remaining democrat on the political scene. However, Mr Yavlinsky has always been Mr Yeltsin's bitterest critic. I he accepted the offer of vice-premier in charge of economic reform. would be on the condition of bringing in his own economic men. Mr Yavlinsky has also made much capital out of running Russia as a aw-based state, tearing into Mr Yeltsin for starting the war in Chechenia, and has demanded that he surrender his power to appoint the prime minister

This is probably too high a price for Mr Yeltsin to pay, and with his eye on 2000 — when the next presi iential election is due — Mr Yavlinsky is more likely to be attracted by staying for another four years in opposition. His time has not yet come, and he has much to lose, as everyone does, by working under an ailing president.

 Russia breached one of the most mportant conditions of its truce with rebels in Chechenia at the weekend when it failed to dismantle the fortified checkpoints that control movement around the breakaway republic. The resurgent crisis in Chechenia is one in a long list of unresolved problems facing Mr Yeltsin as he comes down to earth after the election victory.

Hutu rebels admit to tea factory slaughter

responsibility for massacring more than 80 people on Burundi's largest tea plantation hast week, claiming all those killed were soldiers. Among the dead were a small child shot through the eye at close range, a young boy cut about the head with a machete, and several

IUTU rebels have admitted it was providing considerable revenue for the government. Tea is Burundi's second largest export. crop after coffee,

The FDD blamed the civilian deaths on the army, but survivors such as Tharcisse Gashirahamwe, a watchman at the plantation's pri-mary school, tell a different story.

Leonard Nyangoma, said they at and dancing. After a while they tacked the Teza plantation because started killing people. The most dangerous among them were the to kill everyone before they left.

"I saw a child killed and a soldier. The child was trying to escape and they shot him." The attack, he said, went on for seven hours, Most of the victims at the factory

were Tulsis, but witnesses said

civilians murdered in a cycle of slaughter perpetuated by Hutu rebels and the largely Tutsi army.

Burundi is expected to top the agenda of the annual summit of the women, who were ordering the men Organisation of African Unity in Cameroon this week, despite the government's efforts to backtrack on an agreement to allow foreign troops to attempt to break the cycle of ethnic massacres.

Last month, Burundi's Tutsi prime minister, Antoine Nduwayo, women. Their bodies were laid out in front of the still-burning tea factory where they worked and lived.

The Forces for the Defence of Democracy (FDD), led by Burning tea by Burning tea by Burning the Burning tea by Burning tea and most of them are away.

The Forces for the Defence of the Burning the Burning tea factory where they worked and lived.

When they saw the army's empty undits former interior minister, and several many school, ten a direction study.

The Texa massacre has reinforced the urgency of plans by Burnilitary force to quell the violence, which is claiming 100 lives a day.

The Texa massacre has reinforced the urgency of plans by Burnilitary force to quell the violence, which is claiming 100 lives a day. and the largely powerless Hutu president. Sylvestre Ntibantun-ganya, bowed to pressure from the benefit of Holocaust sur-The Texa massacre has reinforced the urgency of plans by Burnard's neighbours to send in a president, Sylvestre Ntibantun-torced the urgency of plans by Burnard's neighbours to send in a other East African leaders and "invivors, an agreement Jewish military force to quell the violence, | vited" what was euphemistically de-

The Week

A TAMIL rebel suicide-bomber with explosives strapped to her body threw herself in front of a Sri Lankan government motorcade in Jaffna, killing at least 21 people

A FIERY populist who rejoices in the nickname "El Loco" will be Ecuador's next president. Abdala Bucaram, of the centreleft Roldosista Party, won the second-round election with 5.1 per cent of the vote.

Washington Post, page 18

AVANA has demanded that a Cuban who bijacked a plane at gunpoint and took it to the US naval base at Guantinamo Bay, on the south-cost tip of the island, be repatriated.

THE Indonesian government will not let the opposition political faction headed by Megawati Sukurnoputri content next year's parliamentary elections, Antara news agency said.

A CHINESE official in Hong Kong told newspapers to write less about pro-democra-s protesters and more about official Chinese statements, saying China's critics were "incorrect" and deserved no more attention

N EW light could be thrown on the destruction of a Pan Am during an inquiry by a French team which is being allowed into Libya to investigate a similar bomb attack on a French passenger plane the following year.

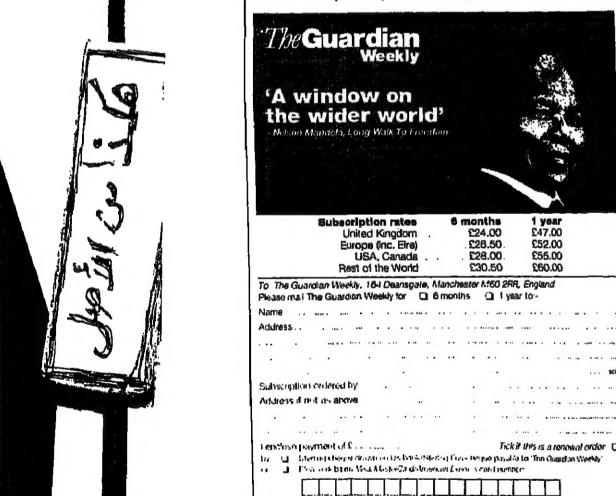
ARTIN Bryant was charged in Hobart, Australia, with 34 more murders atemming from the April 28-29 shooting spree in Port Arthur that killed 35 and wounded 18.

HE man jailed for life for the assassination of the former Israeli prime minister, Yltzhak Rabin, appealed to the supreme court to overturn his murder conviction. Yigal Amir's lawyers argued that evidence suggested another gunnan was involved in the November attack.

A GROUP of suspected Muslim separatist militants ahot dead at least 11 migrant workers in India's Jammu and Kashmir state, police said. Police said Kashmiri militants often target people they suspect of being government informers.

E Albanian president. Sal Berisha, under fire from the West after a general election widely criticised as unfair, said he would invite opposition parties to join the new government.

■ UNGARY is to establish a foundation to administer confiscated Jewish property for groups halled as a model restitu-



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INYAMIN Netanyahu was due to arrive in Washington on Tuesday on his first visit as Israel's prime minister, amid American anxiety over the lastminute inclusion of the hardliner Ariel Sharon in his already shaky

The appointment of the former general, forced on Mr Netanyahu by a threat of resignation from his foreign minister, David Levy, cast a cloud over the visit. US officials had made it clear that the fate of Gen Sharon, reviled as the architect of Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, would be read as an indicator of Mr Netanyahu's commitment to the neace process.

The new prime minister clearly wanted to delay the appointment until after his visit. But aides argued that while the Clinton administration would have struggled to accept Gen Sharon in either of the key posts of defence or finance, it could probably tolerate him as minister of the new portfolio of "national infrastructure". Gen Sharon's newly created national infrastructure ministry is expected to be the third largest after defence and education, with an estimated \$2 billion budget.

Wariness over Mr Netanyahu was heightened by his first post-election meeting in Jerusalem last month with the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, where the two were said to have had a frosty encounter.

Washington is unhappy about the Likud leader's rejection of the landfor-peace principle which has under pinned the peace process, and by his failure to meet the Palestinian leader. Yasser Arafat, So far all contact has been through an aide.

But Mr Netanyahu has signalled that he is keen to placate the Americans. He reportedly plans to tell Mr Clinton he will go ahead with Israel's promised withdrawal from the West Bank town of Hebron, although under a different plan from that of his Labour predecessor, Shi-mon Peres. He intends to lift barriand back the flow of international | the CIA.

aid to Mr Arafat's Palestinian

Mr Netanyahu is also expected to offer the prospect of substantial progress on Lebanon. He will reportedly say that if Lebanon and Syria stop Hizbullah rocket attacks on northern Israel, he will pull Israeli forces out of southern Lebanon — the key Hizbullah demand.

Israeli sources said that ulti-mately the United States have nothing to fear, because Mr Netanyahu too anxious to maintain the strength of the US-Israeli relation-

Educated in the US and a fluent performer of soundbite politics, Mr Netanyahu has none of the animosity towards America that characterised the last Likud prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir. He does not want to repeat Mr Shamir's stand-off with former president George Bush, which paved the way for the Likud defeat of 1992. Instead, he will go to great lengths to show he is an Israeli leader with whom the

US can do business.

For Mr Clinton, the visit is a chance to mend the damage of his endorsement of Mr Peres, and to restore faith in his greatest foreign policy achievement — the Middle East peace process. Now resigned to the likelihood that there will be no is raeli-Syrian deal before the November election, Mr Clinton will be tooking for a guarantee that at least the current gains can be maintained. Both men therefore have a big

stake in this week's visit going wel and looking good on camera. Mr Netanyahu is facing a host of position MPs demanded to know why he appears to have used four different names while living in the

minister has nothing to hide".

The suggestion is that Mr Netanyahu used the aliases to prolong his stay in the US. But his Labour party opponents find it suspicious that the file unearthed by a newspaper, Kol Ha'lr, was marked "secret", leading to suggestions that the Is ers on Palestinians working in Israel | raeli leader may have worked for



Police fire a water cannon in New Delhi during a demonstration at the weekend against petrol price rises. The month-old centre-left government of the prime minister, H D Deve Gowda, increased petroleum prices by up to 30 per cent, prompting nationwide strikes and criticism from leftwing cabinet members. Mr Deve Gowda later agreed to halve the increase in the price of widely used diesel fuel

Republicans target Perry over Saudi blast

Martin Walker in Washington

TTING new evidence on intelligence and security failures that led to the death of 19 US troops in last month's terrorist bomb attack in Saudi Arabia, the Republicans are to open hearings in Congress this week aimed at unseating the defence secretary, William Perry. The Republicans have gathered

evidence — and military and civilian witnesses - to condemn security procedures at the Khobar Towers complex, outside the Dhahran air

They will assert that despite the bomb attack which killed five Americans and two Indians in Riyadh last November, the CIA and Defence In-US. Mr Netanyahu's spokesman, telligence Agency had virtually no knowledge of Saudi militants, and Shai Bazak, insisted that "the prime assumed they could deploy nothing more lethal than the 100kg bomb used in Riyadh. The truck bomb used at Dhahran contained some three tons of explosive.

The Republicans will also produce the security reports filed on the dan-

39 recommended precautions, in-cluding relocating US troops into us. We don't have to defend you." cluding relocating US troops into the desert or away from the vulnerable perimeter at Khobar Towers, and covering all the windows with plastic film to prevent flying glass. This would have cost \$4.5 million and was delayed because of cost. But on the basis of the flawed in-

telligence, the air force team did not stress the need for a wider security perimeter outside Khobar Towers.
And although local commanders
tried to obtain permission from the Saudi authorities to widen the existing 25m perimeter, they did not push the issue nor appeal to higher

political and diplomatic authority.

Military and civilian intelligence agencies have complained that they were given little help by their Saudi allies. The four Saudi nationals convicted of the Riyadh bomb were tried and beheaded without being made available to US interrogators.

The tendency to blame the Saudis is apparent in newspaper cartoons, including one example in the Orlando Sentinel which showed an gers to the Dhahran base by US air Arab shelkh telling an American solforce experts, who produced a list of dier: "No, you don't understand. Washington Post, page 15

fear two serious implications of the hearings before the Senate armed services and intelligence committees. They expect some pointed criticism of the alliance with Saudi Arabia. They also expect a concerted attempt - already threatened by Senator Arlen Specter, mittee, and by the House Speaker, Newt Gingrich - to single out Mr Perry as the most likely scapegoat.

Mr Perry's vulnerability is increased by the Republicans' fear that President Clinton is slipping out of the clutches of the Whitewater scandal.

The Pentagon's relations with the White House have been trans-formed since Mr Perry became defence secretary and General John Shalikashvili took over as chairman of the joint chiefs of staff. Its readiness to deploy US power in Haiti and Bosnia has buttressed President Clinton's foreign policy.

Turkish MPs in vote punch-up

Chris Nuttall in Ankara

ODERN Turkey's first govern-ment led by an Islamist prime minister was approved by parlia-ment on Monday in a high-tension vote of confidence marred by gun-carrying and fighting among MPs. Uproar erupted as members of

secular parties attacked colleagues Necmettin Erbakan. The former foreign minister,

Emre Gonensay, was punched by a colleague in his True Path party. and another deputy was hit to the Voting resumed after a seven-

minute delay and Mr Erbakan's gov-ernment went on to win by 278 A group of MPs from the far-right

Grand Unity party, whose seven seats swung the vote in favour of the new government, then attacked a member of the opposition Mother- I fare up from a minority party to win I forces.

other MPs piled in to disarm the Ten other True Path deputies

voted against the government; the party's only Jewish member abstained, and four MPs stayed away in protest.

The True Path leader, Tansu Ciller, who is foreign minister and was about choosing a continuing stalemate or an end to a nine-month political crisis. "We have chosen a social consen-

sus," she said and added that the country could not be left any more to her centre-right rival, Mesut Yilmaz, the previous prime minister in a three-month minority coalition notable only for the bitter in-fighting between True Path and his Mother-

land party. bakan, aged 69. He has built Wel-

land party, who drew out a gun to defend himself. Security guards and Ankara and finish ahead of the traditionally strong centre-right par-

He played on the personal animosity between Mrs Ciller and Mr Yilmaz to destroy their brief coalition. He forced three corruption inquirles into Mrs Ciller's affairs, which left her with little choice but o iom weitare in government if she was to suppress investigations that could ruin her politically.

But his first steps in office will not have pleased radicals. Despite election promises to realign Turkey with the Muslim world, the government last week made a priority of

maintaining ties with the West. Mr Erbakan realises that moves to enhance the role of religion in politics and society could lead to the breaking up of the coalition and an-It was the finest hour of Mr Er | tagonise the secular establishment, notably hig business and the armed

Ramos peace plan opposed

SCREAMING Christian demonstrators tried to strike

the Philippines president, Fidel Ramos, with placards last week as opposition mounted to his proposed peace pact with rebel Muslims, writes Ruben Alabastro in General Santos.

The placards were thrust almost in General Ramos's face "We do not want to give Mindanao away", and "We don't like

Misuari", read the posters. Mr Misuari leads the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), vanguard of a 24-year revolt for Muslim self-rule in

the region.

Gen Ramos's two-hour visit to General Santon, a largely Christian city of 400,000. brought to a raucous end a two day trip to southern Mindanao. where he was met by rowdy protests by Christians.

At every atop, Gen Ramos de fended his proposed peace plan with the MNLF. "I know none of you would want to return to the days of conflict, violence and bloody struggle. Let us put all of that behind us now," he told government employees at the Sarangani provincial hall near General Santos. He blamed oppo sition to the plan by the region's

understanding of what it entailed The protests were spurred by a recent agreement between the government and MNLF panels to set up a transitional administrative body in the islands, the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development.

It will supervise and co-ordi nate development efforts and help keep the peace in 14 provinces and nine cities in Mindanao, the ancestral home of the largely Christian country's 5 million Muslims.—Reuter

GUARDIAN WEEKLY July 14 1998

African war children make plea for help

Vincent t'8as in Yacunde

→ HILDREN from war-ravaged African countries ended a conference in Cameroon with an mpassioned plea for protection from warlords who had press-gaged some of them into their guerrilla armies.

"All child soldiers should be disarmed immediately and sent to schools or vocational training centres," said Angela Massaley, aged 15, reading from the conclusions of the mock summit's committee on child soldiers.

The 120 children were brought together by the United Nations children's agency Unicef for a two-day meeting ahead of Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which began on Monday. A 14-year-old girl who said

she had been raped during Mozambique's civil war cried throughout the meeting.

The children were selected from 11 countries torn by civil war or instability. Some had ex-perienced violence first hand, and some even confessed to killing. Their representatives were to address a plenary session of the 53-nation OAU during its three-day summit.

"I think that we are going to achicve something," said Rebekah Negash, an 18-year-old Ethiopian who chaired the meet-ing. "Once the presidents hear directly from some of us what our aufferings have been as child soldiers and refugees, they will have to do something.

Rosemary Iboso, aged 16. who was kidnapped by rebels in Uganda at the age of 12 and saw her father killed, said: "I hope that the OAU will listen to us. stop the wars and rescue our lives from the rebels."

Two heads of state — President Alpha Oumar Konare of Mall and the Eritrean leader. Issayas Afeworki — attended the closing session of the children's

"I am a father myself," Mr Konare told the children, "When I see the killings that take place even in places such as hospitals and schools, I say to myself: This should not be the future of Africa. We can do a lot better.' " Mr Konare, who won elections in Mali after soldiers ousted un-

to contribute quickly to national wealth, he said. popular leaders, said greater democracy was the only way to avoid war in Africa. "When look-"We are not going to look at the colour of a person's skin or the pering for power, we should not use son's country of origin in choosing. We are going to look at the skills and the abilities that people have," lolence," he said. Ciella Kinigi, aged 14, of Burundi, asked a senior official

Mr Howard said. representing the UN secretary He said some immigrant groups general, Boutros Boutros-Ghall, with poor English had unemploy why the UN withdrew peacement rates of more than 30 per cent, keeping forces from Rwanda at not specify which groups, but govthe start of the 1994 genocide ernment figures show unemploy "I did not understand his answer. But I believe he said that ment highest among Vietnamese and Middle Eastern immigrants.

the United Nations themselves were very sorry that the troops had not stayed," Me Kinigi said later. She said she hoped ethnic massacres in her own country would be stopped in time before they reached the scale of the killings in Rwanda, where an estimated 1 million people died. — Reuter

Gerald Bourke in Kabul

INUTES before Guibuddin Hekmatyar was sworn in for the second time as Afghanistan's prime minister last month, a senior member of his Hizbe Islami party spoke of its attempts to persuade the Taliban Islamic militia to allence the artillery which had pounded Kabul all day, killing and maining more than 200 civilians.

"We sent them a message of peace, asking them to agree to a ceasefire," Qaribur Saeed declared. "We told them the people of Kabul are the people of Afghanistan and the only way to end the war is to negotiate a settlement.

It was another example of the typocrisy that comes so easily to the leaders of the warring factions, and instils such loathing in the ordinary people they claim to represent. Four years ago, Islamic factions seized Kabul from an embattled communist regime. They soon

turned their guns on each other and Hizbe was driven out by the com-bined armies of Burhanuddin Rabbani, the spiritual head of Jamaat Islami, and Rashid Dostam, a powerful ethnic Uzbek from the north.

Australia cuts

of immigrants

A USTRALIA said last week it would cut its general immigra-

tion intake by 10.8 per cent in the

next year and introduce English lan-

guage tests for would-be immi

grants, reflecting concerns about

The government said the intake

More cuts would come in the

family reunion scheme, it added.

The number of people allowed to

immigrate under that provision will be reduced to 44,700 from 58,200.

Australia will also cut the intake of

refugees by 1,000 to 14,000.

The prime minister, John

Howard, was quick to say that Aus-

tralia would maintain a non-racial immigration policy. The govern-ment would select immigrants with

better English language skills, bet-ter work skills, and a greater ability

Ethnic lobby groups criticised the cut in the family reunion pro-

gramme, which enables peopl overseas to join their relatives i

Australia, as an attack on Asian im-

migration, which many Australians

But the immigration minister, Philip Ruddock, insisted: "It will be a better and more appropriate mix."

from July 1, 1996 to the end of June

1997 would be cut to 74,000.

its intake

Agencies in Canberra

high unemployment.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 5

Hekmatyar brings little hope to Kabul

tam's once pro-communist mercenaries, indiscriminately bombarded the capital to try to dislodge Jamaat. They only succeeded in killing tens of thousands of Kabul's residents and reducing swaths of the city to rubble. During much of this time, Mr Hekmatyar was officially prime minister, but never dared to enter

Early last year he fled from his main base, south of Kabul, in fear of a confrontation with the advancing Paliban, and was effectively reduced to the status of a local commander. Then last month, he struck a deal with President Rabbani. It not only paved the way for his restora tion as prime minister, but rescued him from the brink of political and military extinction.

This man is responsible for the deaths of thousands of people and the destruction of our city," said a surgeon at one of the city's few functioning hospitals, echoing a senti-ment widely felt across the capital. "It's absurd. All the so-called leaders use the slogans of Islam, but their soldiers systematically kill, rape and

From the safety of a bullet-proof

For the next three years, Hizbe, leep, deep in a convoy of pick-ups ultimately backed by General Dosmen, the prime minister has witnessed for the first time the devastation wrought by his forces. But there has been no apology.

Excuses, though, are plentiful, and Mr Saeed had one ready. "We never fired first, we only retaliated when we came under attack," he claimed with a brazenness typical of the country's power-hungry leaders.

There have been no protests since Mr Hekmatyar's arrival. "Demonstrations would be useless," said the surgeon. "We don't even have the right to life, so we are reduced to worrying about how we can nourish and house our families." Relief workers say half of Kabul's

1.2 million people do not have ade quate food or shelter. The prices of staples continue to soar and beggars are everywhere - many of hem women who have lost their husbands to the rockets which pound the city. The government is to blame for

the misery and for the plunging value of the afghani, the national currency. To oil its military machine, Jamaat flies in planeloads of freshly-printed afghani banknotes The proceeds have been used to buy vast quantities of weapons from overseas — and the dubious loyalty of Mr Hekmatyar. Many Kabulis are convinced that, bolstered by Hizbe's fighters and firepower. Jamaat will soon launch a big offensive to drive the Taliban from the southern out skirts of the city.
"I have no doubt the war will re-

sume with a vengeance," said Herat Khan, an elderly man queuing out side the city's only orthopaedic centre with a grandson who lost both legs in a rocket explosion. There were murmurs of agreement from others waiting to be fitted with artificial limbs.

In public at least, both the presi dent and prime minister have recently extolled the virtues of peace. They have launched separate charm offensives, ostensibly simed at woo ing rival armies.

The Taliban militia, who hav vowed to rid the country of all other fighting factions and establish pure Islamic state, refuse to be swayed. "We have had enough o their lies," said one of their comman ders during an artillery exchange. "The only solution is to fight."

Le Monde, page 13



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Smokin' Bob should learn to lighten up



The US this week

Martin Walker

TTAKES extraordinary politica tunity that has been presented to Robert Dole, the Republican caudidate for the presidency. But on last week's wretched performance, the former senator from Kansas appears to have affronted middle America, the press, the medical prolession, the health vote, his wife and the nation's sweetheart, all at one fell swoop. He also managed to get Washington talking about something other than the FBI files affair and the accident-prone Clintons.

This takes some doing, and Dole achieved it with one brief television interview. He had been invited, with his attractive and intelligent wife Elizabeth, to appear on the NBC Today morning show to help sell the new edition of their joint book, Unlimited Partners. (Not recommended: it is simultaneously vapid and glutinous.) This should not have been difficult. They were to be interviewed by Katie Couric, a presenter who veers between the deferential and polite. She has a pert grin and is sometimes known as "America's sweetheart".

At one point, she asked Dole about the Democratic attacks on him as "Smokin' Bob", an apologist for the cigarette industry. The industry has indeed donated some \$400,000 to him, and some \$2.8 million to the Republicans. This is a delicate matter, now that the tobacco barons have replaced the arms dealers as the Merchants of Death. Even smokers in the US feel guilty about their habit, and a majority of them tell pollsters they support President Clinton's attempts to stop children and teenagers from starting to smoke.

The Democrats have seized this opportunity, and their campaign has got under Dole's skin, not least with the character called Mr Butts. Wherever Dole goes, he is haunted by a Democratic activist dressed up in a 70 high foam rubber costume that looks like a filter eigarette, who hands out take dollar bills that show Dole puffing on a fag that looks like a rolled-up banknote. These days more and more volunteers are joining Mr Butts to shout "Give it up,

Smokin' Bob". Some Dole staffers are pleading with the campaign to lighten up They advocate retaliating with a "joint-man", disguised as a marijuuna cigarette, to dog Clinton. Or they suggest deluging each Buttman with applications for their FBI files, or a job in the security team at the Clinton White House. But senior Republicans are incandescent

their torment was Craig Livingstone, who had recently resigned as director of personnel security at the White House. At the time, he was testifying before Congress on the embarrassments of the FBI files hat landed in his office safe.

Livingstone made his name in the 1992 campaign as the keeper of "Chicken George". This was another activist dressed as a large chicken, who would attend every one of President Bush's campaign events while he declined to debate with Clinton. The message was that Bush was frightened of Clinton, and therefore "chicken". Even after the debates got under way, Livingstone kept up the torment. So when Mr Butts started to dog Dole, the Republicans panicked. There can be no other explana

tion for Dole's vicious riposte to the hapless Katie Couric. He accused her of being part of "the liberal media" and of getting her facts from his enemies — "the New York Times was never known to be friendly to Bob Dole, that I can recall". Then he really got nasty, ask-ing whether "people like you" were violating the FEC [Federal Electoral Commission] regulations by always, you know, sticking up for the Democrats". (Dole speaks in such elliptical, staccato and verbless clauses that it is impossible to quote him verbatim and convey much sense at all. Hence this truncated form of conveying what he grunted, sneered and sort of said. Or, as Dole puts it at the end of most paragraphs, "whatever".)

With most journalists, it can be a useful tactic for a politician to go on the attack, to question their objective ity and to denounce their bias. But not with Katie Couric: American viewers know her too well. And it is very unwise of a politician to suggest that a tough question should expose the journalist to investiga-tion by a federal agency like the FEC. It brings up unpleasant memo-ries of the Nixon White House's threats against the TV licence applications and other business venture of the Washington Post.

Having dug his hole, Dole kep on digging, like the stubborn old cuss he looked. Even on tobacco, Dole has an answer. He knows cigarettes can kill - he lost a brother to emphysema. But in a free society, if informed adults want to smoke, there are limits to what govern-

BILL CLINTON!

wed the tobacco barons, and Dole s the kind of honest politician who gives value for campaign money.

If there is one American who in spires universal respect these days, it is President Reagan's old surgeongeneral, Dr C Everett Koop, with his no-nonsense medical advice and Old Testament white beard. Dr Koop had been supporting Dole, but Dole's grunts that he was not convinced that tobacco was addictive, or that it did much more harm than milk, was too much for the old doctor. The Republican candidate had to be misinformed, Koop said, in a kindly, chiding way. Dole's reaction was to say that Koop had been watching too much of the liberal media and "probably got carried away". Brainwashed, Ms Couric asked. "Probably. A little bit," Dole replied, as his wife tugged at his sleeve, muttering that it was time to talk about their book.

For Dole, this was disastrous. He has spent much of this year telling Americans that he is a softer and more cuddly Bob Dole. Yet he has a dark and waspish side, which he always used to show under pressure. As President Ford's vice-presidential running mate in 1976, Dole faced Walter Mondale in a television debate and suddenly sneered at the second world war, Korea and Vietnam as "Democratic wars".

In 1988, having been beaten the New Hampshire primary by George Bush and the local machine of Governor John Sununu, Dole was asked if he had a message for the victor. A polite word of congratulation would have been in order, perhaps with a jibe that he looked ments can or should do to stop them. But Dole would not stop. He did not have the state governor to

run his campaign for him. Instead Dole looked as mean and sullen as any politician has done since Nixon. and snarled to the cameras, "Yeah

— stop lying about my record." That is the Bob Dole Americans remember from his campaigns. In Washington, political insiders prefer to recall his courteous and gentlemanly ways in the US Senate, and his evident belief in the occasional need for agreements that rise above partisan politics.

He is a sincere man who pays his debts. He supports tiny Armenia. and never forgets the Turkish mas-sacres of 1915 because it was an Armenian doctor who sewed his war-torn body back together after 1945. He has a tenderness for the underdog and never stopped supporting Bosnia - if any US politician deserves a statue in a rebuilt Saraievo, it is Bob Dole.

In domestic matters. Dole has a reasonably centrist record, at least recent years since he stopped being Nixon's hatchet man. He supported affirmative action for women, complaining of "the glass ceiling" that stopped women executives rising to the top of corporations. He has always been sceptical about supply-side economic theory and Reaganomics, and was roundly dismissive of the flat-tax theories of Steve Forbes, the mega-rich publisher who briefly challenged him in

the primaries. But such is Dole's present desperation that he is considering putting forward a flat tax scheme of his own, although it will have to be lescribed in terms that will spare him having his own sneers quoted back at him: "Flat tax - sounds like

go that far, his campaign chiefs are saying that a big economic and tax statement will be unveiled before America tunes out politics to watch the Olympic Games. But who knows? There appears to be turmoil at Dole campaign HQ, where Donald Rumsfeld, the former chief of staff at the Ford White House, seems to be assuming some of the functions of the titular campaign chief, Scott Reed.

This is like shuffling deck chairs on the Titanic. Given Clinton's embarrassments (he gave videotaped evidence in another Arkansas crimi nal trial on Sunday), Dole should be at least level-pegging with his rival. The public do not much trust their president, and even less his wife and politicians of Dole's experience should know how to take advantage of such an opportunity. But Clinton is the purest politician that America has ever seen. His timing is immac

On July 4, it seemed as if the whole of America went to the movies to see the latest Hollywood lockbuster, Independence Day. Already breaking all box-office records after cinema chains stayed open throughout the night to screen t, the film provokes thunderous cheers when invading aliens from outer space destroy both the White House and the home of Congress, the US Capitol

Clinton had already seen it in the White House cinema, but he recom mended the movie to his fellov Fourth of July celebrants in rural Maryland, a safe 50 miles from the White House, "Somebody said I was coming to Youngstown because thi was the day the White House got blown away by space aliens," Clinton said. "I hope it's there when I get back. Anyway, I recommend the

ATURALLY, that made every July 4 and July 5 television name broaders. comes across as a regular guy who enjoys the same films as other Americans and can take a joke Meanwhile there was Dole grum bling that nobody had yet convince him that tobacco was addictive, and maybe Dr Koop had been brain washed. If this were a boxing match, they'd have stopped the fight by now. As a campaigner, Dole simply is not in the same league as Clinton.

And then on July 5, just to twist the knife, Clinton made a rure ap pearance in the White House pres office to celebrate the latest figure from the Labor department. Unem ployment had dropped yet again, to 5.3 per cent. But the real news was that in the 42 months since he tool office the US economy has created 10 million jobs. Set that against his promise of 8 million new jobs back on the 1992 campaign trail. Moreover, median family incomes are beginning to climb again, and the ninimum wage is about to go up.

The voters find Clinton an ampivalent figure, likeable and yet untrustworthy, well-meaning but tricky, hard-working and yet often insubstantial. The latest Gallup pollillustrates this contradiction. Asked if the words "honest and trustwor thy applied to their president, 5 per cent said No. Asked whether he had "the honesty and integrity to serve as president", 62 per cent said Yes. Better a Slick Willie who deliv ers than an honourable bungler like Jimmy Carter, or that hapless butt of Butt-man, poor old Bob Dole, His admirers in the White House are planning to throw Dole such a wonderful birthday party on July 22 that every voter in America will know that the dear old thing is 73 years old. How kind. How very clever.

Stone of Scone to go home

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

OHN Major delighted patriotic Scots but astonished the politi-Cal establishment at Westminster last week by unexpectedly announcing that the ancient Stone of Scone is to be returned to Scotland 700 years after it was seized by the maranding English, write Michael White and Erlend Clouston.

The Prime Minister's announcement, which ministers insisted was not a political gesture towards Scottish nationalism, means that the "Stone of Destiny" - the historic symbol of Scotland's monarchs until Edward I brought it to Westminster Abbey in 1296 - will be rehoused later this year, probably in Edin-

burgh Castle or St Giles' Cathedral. Downing Street was quick to quell speculation that Mr Major's gesture would renew pressure on Britsin to hand back other cultural icons seized during its imperial heyday notably the Elgin Marbles. The stone is the property of the Queen and is simply being removed from one part of her kingdom to another, the Scottish Secretary, Michael Forsyth, confirmed.

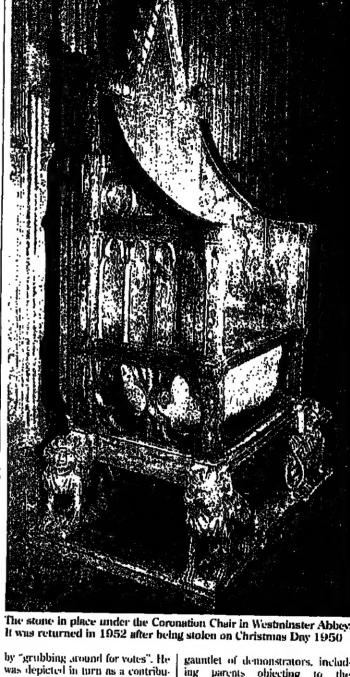
Ministers also tried to quash the instant revival of another legend: that the stone, which was stolen by nationalists - stolen back, they would say - in 1950, was not returned to its place below the Coronation Chair in 1952, the year before the Queen became the latest monarch to be crowned above it.

A fake was substituted and the real stone is still in Scotland, former Labour frombencher, John McAllion, and others said.

Mr Forsyth, who initiated the decision, repeatedly stressed: "I do not regard this as a political gesture." Instead he stressed the stone's religious symbolism. But many MPs see the decision as chiefly symbolic of the Tories' 15 per cent share in Scottish opinion polls. The Prime Minister later

newed his assault on Labour's plan for Scottish devolution, warning it would produce an "insulting" Edinburgh parliament and lead to ecoromic decline.

Making the first, and possibly ast, prime ministerial address to the Scottish Grand Committee, Mr. Major castigated Labour for jeopar-dising "a birthright without price"



was depicted in turn as a contributor to the possible break-up of the United Kingdom through his failure to listen to Scottish demands for change. He also refused repeated Labour requests to say how the Tories would respond to a double Yes vote in Labour's projected devolution referendum

The Prime Minister's historic presence assured a huge turn-out of Scottish MPs at Dumfries's Easter-

ing parents objecting to the (Labour) closure of a primary school and a goat representing pensioners angry at the withdrawal or

Mr Major announced the creation of 1,000 jobs at a Taiwanese electronics factory at Mossend in Lanarkshire and a project by St Andrews University to republish the papers of the original Scottish parliament. Later, he laid a wreath at brook Hall. Arriving MPs ran a the Robert Burns mausoleum.

crime squads to provide a national response to what was a national threat. And, if successful, to put nore people in prison. THE Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carry, tabled his

first debate in the House of Lords to launch a crusade to reinvigorate the the centrality of the Ten Commanda predominantly Christian country in danger of squandering its Judaic-Christian moral inheritance. Without basic values of honesty and faithfulness, society was in danger of degenerating into chaotic gangsterism.

Besides worrying about the nation, Dr Carey has other problems in his own back yard. In the diocese of Lincoln, he ordered two squabig eleries to resign "for the good of the cathedral and the Church". But he has no power to suck either the dean, the Very Rev Brandon Jackson, or the subdean, Canon Rex Davis. They have been feuding ever since Dean Inckson was appointed in 1988 to "sort out" Lincoln after a disastrous fund-raising venture by Canon Davis, who took the cathedrai's copy of Magna Carta to Australia and lost 256,000 on the enterprise. Things took a turn for the worse last year when the dean was exposed to a consistory court hearing on a charge - found not

The Week in Britain James Lewis

Howard finds himself in a pickle over jail security

THE Government cannot find the £2 billion it needs to improve security standards at the overcrowded prisons to which it consigns an ever-increasing number of immates. The security improvenents were recommended by the Learmont inquiry into an embarrassing breakout from Parkhurst prison, on the Isle on Wight, last year but the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, was hoping to sit tight and say nothing about his in ability to implement them.

Parliament had been told that Mr Howard would explain "in the spring" what he intended to do about the recommendations. But internal Whitehall documents show that the Home Secretary was advised to stall. There was a "presentational problem", said one document. "Ministers would not wish to indicate the implementation of a significant security report was contingent

on achieving adequate funding." The document suggested that Mr Howard might tell Parliament about the actions he was going to take (on recommendations that required no extra funding) and say he was "still studying" the others. If questions were asked. Mr Howard could posibly plead "the complexity of the issues" as a reason for not dealing with the Learmont proposals in full

Far from raising extra money, Mr. Howard has been asked to cut prison running costs by 13 per cent 3 so legal aid money, previously 6 over the next three years, and capie 1 stricted to law tiems, will become tal spending by 60 per cent. Record prison numbers have led to immates a advice agencies as wellsleeping on mattresses on the floor

The Home Secretary does, how ever, have money to set up a new national police squad to focus on drug traffickers and major criminals, though Mr Howard denies that it will be the equivalent of America's FBI. It would, he said, he an amalgamation of the six existing regional

morality of the nation. He stressed ments in what, he claimed, was still

proven -- of improper sexual cor duct with a female verger. Also looming is a battle over the

Church's "incoherent" position that tolerates practising homosexuality among the laity but not among the clergy. More than half the members of the Synod (the Church's governing body) said in a survey that they mew of clergy who were practising nomosexuals. And more than two thirds of members thought home sexuals should not be ordained.

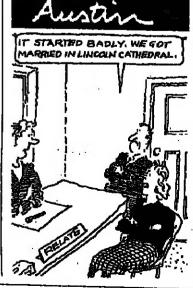
Comment, page:

THE most radical shake-up of the legal aid scheme since its inception in 1950 is planned by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay, who wants everyone — even those on legal aid — to make some contribu tion, possibly £10 or £20, towards the cost of their cases. Individuals on legal aid who lose their cases could have a second morngage taken out on their home to mee either their own or their opponents

In order to impose cash limits on the legal aid scheme, which is now costing an annual k1 i billion, Lord Mackay's proposed legislation will bring in a "meril" test so that only the most deserving cases will be builded at taxpavers, expense. But there will be more emphasis on me diation as a way of settling dispute available to relatively mexpensive

III Trince of Wales delivered his proposals for a divorce setthement to the Princess's legal team at the weekend, breaking 10 weeks of deadlock and opening the way to a quick end to the marriage. It it is accepted, a decree nisi could be granted before the couple's 15th wedding anniversary at the end of he month.

The offer is thought to envisage "clean-break" settlement worth between £15 million and £20 million partly funded by the Queen or by means of a loan. The most contentious issue is whether Princess Diana should be allowed to retain the title "Her Royal Highness". which would enhance her image. There will almost certainly be "gayging clause" to prevent the appearance of yet more kiss-and-tell books or interviews.



US parent-killers given life sentences

Jonathan Freedland in Washington

↑ LOS ANGELES judge Ashowed the limits of the "abuse excuse" last week when he sentenced Lyle and Erik Menendez to life in prison without parole for killing their parents in 1989. The brothers claimed to have suffered years of sexual, physical and emotional abuse at the hands of their

in cold blood.

mother, Kitty, and father, José. Judge Stanley Weisberg said the two men deserved no leniency and should serve two consecutive life sentences, one with rage, since the man who began | for each parent. "The defendants

separately considered killing their parents," he said. "This was a decision made over several days." A key piece of evidence was the brothers' admission that they had paused to reload their shotguns in order to kill their mother; a sign, prosecutors said, that they acted

Prosecutors sought the death penalty, saying the brothers could commit further crime if they lived. But a defence lawyer said it was ridiculous to view them as dangerous. The defendants, who have the right of appeal, showed no reaction. José Menendez made a for-

tune in the entertainment business, married his college sweetheart, had two sons and, to all

The parents were found murdered on August 10, 1989. The sons said they came home and found them dead. It was six nonths before the two were arrested; by then they had begun to spend their parents' money.

Watching the ruling was Anna Erikason, Lyle Menendez's prison pen pal turned fiancée. They had wanted to marry before he began his prison term, but the ceremony has been put on hold.

ers and maize" by 2025.

Paul Brown

SOUTHERN England will have he climate of the Champagne region of France in 25 years' time and Yorkshire will replace Kent as the Garden of England, the Environment Secretary, John Gummer, said lasi week.

Launching his department's review of the effects of climate change on the UK, he said the climate was already noticeably changing and would continue to do so until the "familiar landscape of the Cotswolds and Suffolk will be growing sunflow-

After another 25 years, the climate will have shifted again, with southern England resembling the Bordeaux region and the Cham-

south and east of England will become much drier as well as warmer, with summer water shortages becoming normal, while the northwest will become far wetter.

Weather forecast: hot, dry and French

Mr Gummer said that while

predictions brought some good news — for example, a boost to tourism - on balance it was bad, | walls but storm surges caused by particularly for countles in southern 1 the combination of high tide and England, In 30 years, the climate of | wind will threaten East Anglia, the Europe will have moved 150 miles north. For example, Paris will have the climate of the south of France, and Spain will be mostly desert.

It means southern England will enjoy the same climate as the Loire valley and, therefore, the whole pattern of agriculture in Europe would have to change. There would be pagne climate moving to Yorkshire, enormous need to adapt quickly, and vention on Climate Change.

The report predicts that the it remained to be seen whether Europe would still be able to feed itself. Rain and windstorms will become more frequent in Britain and domore damage than at present. A rise

in the sea level of up to 35cm will The UK has already authorised an increase in the height of sea Humber region, Teesside and the Firth of Forth.

Some plant and animal species vill die out, while others will have to migrate northwards. Insects such as he maiarin-carrying mosquite will be able to thrive in southern Britaln. Mr Gummer was due in Geneva this week for talks on the UN Con-

UGLY!!

Michael White

ONY Blair's launch

Labour's five-pledge Road to

the Manifesto last week un-

leashed a propaganda blitz between

the major parties which pitted

familiar Conservative allegations

of extravagance against Labour

counter-charges of reckless men-

In a move calculated to kill off

Labour's old "tax and spend" image,

bind party supporters to his priori-

ties for government, and win over

wavering voters, Mr Blair promised

a radical but responsible "contract for a new Britain" if he wins the

The Labour leader told a crowded

press conference: "In government,

election due within 10 months.

Labour's promises

☐ Cut class sizes for 5-7-year-olds

using cash from abolishing assisted

☐ Fast-track punishment for

persistent young offenders

J Reduce NHS waiting lists by

100.000 patients using £100m

a Tough rules for government

spending; ensure low inflation;

eep interest rates down

saved from cutting bureaucracy

☐ Take 250,000 under-25-year-olds.

off benefit, using cash from tax on.

this will be what we deliver" - and

deliver it without breaching Gordon

Brown's "strict rules for spending

Within hours of the Labour lead-

ership's official publication of its

10,000-word pre-manifesto state-ment — to be voted on by all

376,000 Labour party members by

the end of the year — Tory HQ had

inveiled a 1,000-site "New Labour,

New Danger" poster campaign, and John Major had warned that the

new policies would mean higher

taxes, despite Labour assurances to

The sharpest skirmish involved the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke,

who picked on one of Mr Blair's five

symbolic priorities — to phase out

he assisted places scheme and di-

places scheme

privatised utilities

and borrowing".

the contrary.

ducity by the "Tory lie machine".

Blair lays ghost

of 'tax and spend'

30 for 5- to 7-year-olds over three

years - to prove that Labour had

got its sums wrong,
"This is Houdini economics, the

politics of smoke and mirrors," said

Mr Clarke, only to be confronted by

Labour's new "rebuttal unit" with

figures from Mr Brown which ac-

cused the Chancellor of missing the

The key battleground in the months shead, however, remains taxation. Mr Brown's £3 billion

windfall tax on the privatised utili-

ties - to finance job creation for

young and long-term unemployed

- Is already under fire, while

some City analysts do not believe

Labour can deliver its declared ob-

jectives without raising taxes or

In the presence of his shadow cabinet, Mr Bhir insisted that past

Labour heroes could all have signed

up to principles underpinning the

statement, even though it reflected

changed policies for a changed

world. "Yes, there has been a revo-

lution inside the Labour party. We

have rejected the worst of our past

Mr Blair unist now start selling

his policy statement to supporters

and voters, some of whom fear that

too many concessions have been

But after their disastrous anti-

made to head off Fory attacks.

and rediscovered the best,"

borrowing.

crucial phasing of the policy.

Madeleine Bunting

■ EMBERS of a British-baset Buddhist sect are neuman an aggressive international smear campaign to undermine the Dalai Lama - one of the world's most revered religious figures and political leader of Tibet — ahead of his visit to the UK this month.

The Dalai Lama is accused of being a "ruthless dictator" and an "appressor of religious freedom" in direct contradiction to his message of religious tolerance, according to spokesman for an organisation called the Shugden Supporters Community (SSC), based in Yorkshire, which has been distributing press releases worldwide.

The sect has expanded dramatically since it was founded in 1991, and is now the biggest Buddhist organisation in the UK with more than 200 affiliated centres at home and more than 50 abroad. Membership is put at around 3,000.

The founder of the NKI is Tibetan monk, Geshe Kelsang, who has lived in Britain since the late seventies. NKT members believe they must obey, worship and pray to Kelsong because he is the Third is scheduled to speak before large Buddha.

in the past year, and a significant proportion of the 300-odd residents of their centres claim housing benefit of up to £60 a week. The benefit is paid as rent and used to service

the large mortgages on properties. Organisers are concerned for the safety of the Dalai Lama during his week-long visit to the UK, starting on July 15. There have been threats from the SSC of demonstrations in London and Manchester, where he audiences. to weaken support for Tibet.

The SSC maintains that the Dalai

Members of the SSC belong to one of the fastest-growing and richest sects in the UK, called the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT), whose headquarters are in Cumbria.

The gest has according to Department of Social Security has unknowingly played a critical part in funding the NKT's rapid expansion. NKT associates have acquired at least five large properties.

The gest has a contact of the SSC belong to the Department of Social Security has unknowingly played a critical part in funding the NKT's rapid expansion. NKT associates have acquired at least five large properties. statues destroyed. Annesty International says the SSC has yet to substantiate its allegations. The concern among British sup-

THE Northern Ireland Sec-retary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, porters of Tibet is that the SSC campaign will play directly into Chinese hands. As a Nobel Peace Prize winconfirmed that he will stand ner, the Dalai Lama has had enor down as MP for Tunbridge Wells at the election. His impregnable mous success in raising the profile of the cause of a free Tibet - it has 17,132 majority will trigger a rush of hopeful successors. been occupied by the Chinese since 1950. The Chinese see the under mining of his reputation as a world religious leader as an effective way

THE amount of fraud detected in local government has nearly doubled in two years to more than £60 million a year. llegal claims for housing benefit and student grants account for most of the money being siphoned off by organised ganga he Audit Commission reports.

A VOLUNTARY national identity card scheme, using the

photocard driving licences to be

introduced next year, received

strong support from a Common

decision is likely to be made

home affairs select committee. A

In Brief

next mouth.

ARENTS have paid out an estimated £200 million dur ing the current academic year to support 18-year-olds at univer sity as grant cuts continue. Allowances from parents are soaring although the average level of student debt jumped by nearly a third to £1,982.

BRITISH Airways planes could be grounded indefinitely from July 16 after the pilots' union said that it would strike unless the company shifted its position in a dispute over flight crew pay. The union claims the walkout will cost BA £40 million a day.

XFORD university has appointed 162 professors to almost double the number of professorships. The move will not add to costs, since the new posts will not carry an additions salary, but will provide recognition to scholars of international reputation who were not getting the esteem they descrived because of financial constraints. Comment, page 1

A WOMAN is to be Britain's new high commissioner in South Africa. Macve Fort, aged 45, at present ambassa Beirut, will succeed Sir Anthon Reeve, who is retiring. There are now eight women heads of British missions abroad.

aine coin of the realm.

election battle. Throughout the summer months

After that, in a repeat performance of the campaign to re-write Clause 4, every Labour party member will be asked to vote yes or no on the document. The result will

But it is not quite like the Clause 4 battle. That may have been a topdown initiative too, but there were at least two sides to the argument:

So the Road to the Manifesto is, old Clause 4 versus its updated be low, either because Old Labourites quietly abstain or new

> come would allow the Tories to revive claims that Blair leads an unreconstructed party.

Writing on the wall

in the draft manifesto

change security/insecurity lead/leadership partner/partnership stake/stakeholder

New Labour's verbless link to Keir Hardie

NEW LABOUR NEW DANGER NUDE ANGER

Simon Hoggart

ABOUR press conferences _are run these days with the slick efficiency of a supermarket opening, first they play tages for people whose musical apprecia tion comes from elevators: Moving On Up, Things Can Only Get Better, upbent songs which make you yearn to buy more

Labour spoot called The Road To Conservative strategists extra-thick yoghurt. promised to barry him all the same. Mr Major told MPs: "The new Labour party's policies mean new taxes . . . on Scotland, on people with children aged 16 to 18, taxes for living in London, taxes on jobs with the social chapter, and the min-

The Conservative chairman, Brian Mawhinney, issued his own five points, claiming that Mr Blair's five would bankrupt Britain. He isaued a 14-page analysis of the Labour statement's weaknesses. Labour HQ countered with a 40-page rebuttal.

In response to the prospect of millions of Labour cards bearing the five pledges, the Tories issued similar red cards repeating their own warnings.

vert funds to cut class sizes to under | Tax trap, page 12

THEWOULD BE

EMPEROR'S

GOT NO

CLOTHES!

Then the minor celebrities arrive. First those members of the shadow cabinet you haven't quite heard of, plus those Tony Blair hopes you won't hear of again. Then the more famous ones.

At some point someone mus have said to them: "OK, darlings, take ten, but don't go away, we may need you later," and they trooped off to the side of the hall where they acted as a claque, cheering Mr Blair and jeering at questions which they didn't care for - a salutary experience for all the backs.

It was a cunning speech, designed to say simultaneously that New Labour was entirely dif ferent from Old Labour, and yet in some mysterious way linked ataviatically to Ancient Labour.

Wilson would sign up to it," he said of the manifesto, "But 1896 is not 1996," he added.

It certainly isn't. I doubt that Keir Hardie would have recognised this resounding sentiment: "Consistent with the high-quality services we need. you should be able to keep as much of the money you have carned to spend as you like.

For one thing, the people Keir Hardie (no relation to New Labour's "Kir" Hardy, the popular Dordogne bartender) spoke for didn't earn enough to dream of paying income tax. Mr Blotr announced five

'pledges" — the first things his government will do. One of these is a new "fast-track punishment" regime for persistent young offenders. (This may conceal a return to capital punishment, which cannot be long delayed. Judges will don the peaked cap and intone: "You will be taken from this place to the Eurostar fast-track outside Waterloo, where you will be be placed until such time as you are decapitated by the 10.23, Tie him down!")

The innumerable members of the party staff even handed out cards listing all five instant

card and see that we keep our promises." (I might have kept mine, if it had contained something useful, such as the number of a minimal firm)

As so often with a Blair sneech us it progressed, it began to shed verbs. Sentences were reduced to a cluster. Nouns and pronouns, Sentences, verbless,

"Fairness at work, Practical proposals. In crime, tough oncrime, tough on the causes of crime, Smaller classes, Shorter waiting lists. New Labour, New lafe for Britain."

For too long, the party's energy wasted. On verbs, For the British people, now, no more verbs. Tough on verbs, tough on the causes of verbs. New Labour, New nouns, adjectives.

Real words for a new Britain. There is a purpose to this. Verbless sentences sound as if they are firm promises. The mind supplies the missing phrases: "We shall provide we will legislate for . . . *

Yet nothing concrete has been proposed. Like so much of the manifesto, cach verbless phrase offers a fine aspiration, worthy in every way, utterly estimable, and entirely vague.

Seven slashed in attack at infant school

John Carvel and Alex Bellos

A MASSIVE hunt was under way on Monday for a machete-wielding attacker who forced his way into Wolverhampton infant school and lashed out at staff, parents and children as young as three in the playground. Four adults and three hildren were injured.

Police named a man they were ooking for as 32-year-old Horrett 📕 💃 Irving Campbell, also known as Izzie, who lives in Villiers House, a block of flats near the scene of the attack at St Luke's Church of England School in Blakenhall,

Up to 50 police officers, some in riot gear, raided the block of flats in their search for Mr Campbell, whom police described as a dangerous man, not to be approached. Police also raided his father's home elsewhere in Wolverhampton, However, they stressed he was only a

All three children underwent surgery on what were described as disfiguring head injuries". The children were named as Ahmed Malik, aged 3, Francesca Quintyne, 4, and Rhena Chopra, 4. Rhena's mother, Surinder Kaur, 29, was also injured, and underwent an operation. The other adults hurt were Azar Rafiq, 29, Wendy Willington, 29, and nursery nurse Lisa Potts, 19.

The attack came towards the end of the school day when a man in his mid-30s appeared to become involved in an argument with woman outside the school.

Many of the children were at school for the first time, enjoying a teddy bears' picnic party designed to make them feel at home when they began school next term. The attacker jumped over the fence and leaders of Britain's hospital struck out at a teacher before moving on to the party. He slashed at the children as they tried to run inside.

David Brindle

president.

trusts and urged them to stop re-

cruiting doctors from South Africa

because of the impact on its health

The move came shead of this

week's state visit to London by Nel-

son Mandela, the South African

Whitehall is not commenting on

suggestions that Mr Mandela raised

the issue with Downing Street in ad-

vance of his visit. But a Department

of Health spokesman said: "It was

passed through to the NHS that

there were concerns."

The assault brought renewed demands for resources from the Government to implement recommendations for school security after the murder of a London head teacher in December and the massacre at Dunblane in March in which a teacher and 16 pupils were gunned down.

The inquiry which followed concluded that schools could not be turned into fortresses, but that reduced numbers of entry points and installation of closed-circuit TV Hospital trusts have been going could improve safety in some cases. overseas in search of doctors and installation of closed-circuit TV

Army beefs up women's combat role THE army's top brass have de- Bosnia with the sappers or the way in which some servicewomen cided in principle that women artillery, not just driving a truck or have recently exploited European

should be allowed to fight in the operating a radio. Even then, however, commanders front line. However, they are holdwill be expected to exercise some ing back from instituting this final form of equal opportunity because discretion — for example, by postthey believe British society as a ing women to the gun lines but not whole is not yet ready for it, writes sending them right forward to an exposed artillery observation post. David Fairhall. in a report that will shortly go to Nor is there any immediate prospect of their being involved in the Defence Secretary Michael Portillo, the Army Board has recom-

Learning the drill . . . women caulets at the Sandhurst military academy

what soldiers call "the final brutal mended that everything but the business" of hand-to-hand combat. Two considerations are driving infantry and the armoured corps should immediately be opened up to the army forward in the direction of women. This means female soldiers complete sexual equality - a sericould find themselves serving in ous shortage of recruits, and the

Mandela says 'stop hiring our doctors'

some other specialties.

taged South Africans".

spartheid.

particularly in anaesthetics and

The South African health depart-

"poach our scarce resources to pro-

vide care for the British people at

the heavy expense of our disadvan-

by the surging demand for doctors

denied proper health care under

Problems have been exacerbated

n parts of South Africa that were

The Department of Health has

confirmed that Gerald Malone, the

health minister, last month called in

leaders of the two organisations rep-

resenting NHS trusts to discuss the

"Mr Malone recently met with

artillery, not just driving a truck or have recently exploited European equal opportunities law, Many millions of pounds have successfully been claimed in compensation - for instance, by women who were wrongfully dismissed when they became pregnant. Almost any form of discrimination, whether

racial or sexual, is now open to legal challenge. Britain's armed forces generally,

n line with their American allies bu not the traditionally-minded Germans, have already taken enormous strides towards the goal of non-

care system," a spokesman said.

Philip Hunt, director of the Na-

tional Association of Health Authori-

ties and Trusts, said: "I told Mr

Majone that we are sympathetic to the difficulties of the South African

health service, and will draw our

members' attention to them, but

that at the end of the day it is up to

dividual trusts to make their own

there is highly rated.

nurses because of acute shortages, | leaders of the NHS Trust Federa-S TARK similarities to the murder of toddler James tion and the National Association of Health Authorities and Trusts and Bulger in February 1993 emerged as the body of ninethey have agreed to draw their ment has complained at moves to members' attention to the potential year-old Jade Matthews was found by a railway line in Boot effect on the South African health Police are questioning her nat-South Africa has been a popular ural father as well as seeking three boys seen near the littleunting ground for trusts seeking doctors because medical training used Liverpool railway line where her body was found.

> ES POWLES, a 70-year-o round-the-world yachtam who was given up for dead, is back in Britain after being out of contact for four months and parrowly avoiding death by storm and starvation. He said he was planning another long voyage.

Hard sell on road to Downing Street

W HEN Tony Blair told party ac-tivists during the launch of Labour's Road to the Manifesto statement that if they "believe this is not the way forward, now is the time o say so", he sounded like an Anglican vicar asking the traditional service, writes Michael White.

himself as he embarks on a fourmonth campaign to woo and wed MPs, peers, the 350,000 members of the Labour party, not forgetting those wary textle unions, and bind them in everlasting bliss to his distilled version of New Labour's priorities for government.

What this is partly about is just hat, locking in the activists to what Mr Blair hopes to do as prime minister, "getting his betrayal in first". is cynics put it in tribute to the dormy Wilson-Callaghan years when charges of betrayal were left-

in large measure, a huge education rival. Victory is all but assured in exercise, partly aimed at the 1996, but this time there must be exercise, partly aimed at the watching electorate. But it also emgenuine fears that the turn-out will bodies a useful exercise in stripping down policy commitments and jettisoning those which might embarrass the leadership in the coming a foregone conclusion. Such an out-

there will be public meetings, union speeches, leading up to the party conference in Blackpool on September 30, which is expected -- emphatically - to endorse the statement.

be known by the end of the year.

supporters feel no need to endorse

And the Tory onslaught, though ham-fisted, signalled a determination to thwart the Labour lender-

Number of times these words appear

socialism/socialis

ship's efforts to turn its manifesto into the fiscal equivalent of an American Stealth bomber. But far from having no policies, a repeated jibe, Labour has lots. The

statement is highly ambitious. If prime minister Blair fulfilled half of t, a grateful electorate would be impressed. Labour's revival under Tony Blair's leadership owes its intellectual respectability to six core propositions about Britain's place in the modern world which are dangerous

and wrong, according to a leading Tory intellectual. Without the work of eight nfluential garus on themes such as globalisation, stakeholding and constitutional reform, the Labour leader's speeches would not be given their "quite exaggerated respect." according to David Willetts. a former think tank guru and now junior public services minister at

Mr Blair's utterances are "almost entirely mood music, with some

the Cabinet Office.

in". What gives them weight are key buzz words. These include "commu nity" - under threat from "globalisation" of the economy and job "insecurity", which generates social insecurity and crime: "shorttermism", which is a central fault of Anglo-Saxon finance capitalism: "stakeholder" as a means of reforming business and welfare to make them more "inclusive"; as well as "constitutional reform" as an antidote to Tory "centralisation".

Mr Willetts's eight targets are Frank Field, the Labour MP for Birkenhçad: Peter Mandelson, spin pool; Professor John Kay, exponent of stakeholding; Will Hutton, editor of the Observer; Andrew Marr, editor of the Independent; John Gray, ex-Thatcherite Oxford don; Professor David Marquand, formerly o the SDP and, surprisingly, Simon Jenkins, Tory ex-editor of the Times. He is included because of his book Accountable To None, which criticises Tory centralisation of power at rather grandiose assertions mixed the expense of local government.



Better the devil they know

BORIS YELTSIN is back by a margin that overnight appears to have vanquished all sorts of demons, and has even restored a degree of vitality to the victor himself. With no evidence of significant rigging, the voting may be judged reasonably fair. The persistent bias of most of the Russian media, heavily influenced from the Kremlin, is another matter. But the gap between Mr Yelisin and the Communist candidate, Gennady Zyuganov, was so wide that it is doubtful whether more balanced coverage could have reversed the outcome. In the end, a majority of voters was more worried by the potential "return of communism" than by the actual defects and disasters of life under the current regime. Foreign correspondents in Moscow may have failed to produce many Yeltsin enthusiasts to give a positive gloss, but they did find plenty of voices explaining why they voted against his opponent.

Worries about Mr Yeltshi's state of health counted for more abroad than among the electornte — if only because the Russian press avoided saying too much about it. Mr Zyuganov's own campuign was not a great success, and his secondround performance seemed to convey the expectation of defeat; however much he dissociated himself from the substance of past policies, his style still conveyed an unhappy whist of the party bureaucrat that he was in the Soviet years. Yet the most compelling explanation for Mr Yeltsin's victory remains the one suggested by our correspondent David Hearst at the start of the election; most Russians prefer to carry on with the gang now in power than invite a new bunch to move in on the turf.

A relieved Bill Clinton, quickly followed by such authoritative commentators as the Nato secretarygeneral, were quick to declare that the result was a victory for democracy. Does that mean that a different result in favour of Mr Zyuganov, if achieved by exactly the same process, would have been something quite different? It would be prudent to throttle back the applicuse and walt to see what happens. If Mr Yeltsin regains his health for sufficient time to function effectively, he has two immediate tasks. The first is to cut down to size the very man he has only just elevated - ex-general Alexander Lebed, who has been spattering out his alarming views on the economy, General Pinochet, Mormons, Jews, and his own claim to the (as yet non-existent) post of vice-president. The second is to decide what to do about the substantial minority vote for Mr Zyuganov, whose arguments had alrendy influenced the president's second-round platform. Popular unhappiness over unemploy ment, prices, corruption and crime will not go away. An effort to build bridges with this substan tid body of dissent — if not the outright conlition suggested by Mr Zyuganov — needs to be made.

Filling the moral vacuum

■ F ARCHBISHOPS cannot talk about morality who can? But even for them the territory strewn with perilous traps as the Archbishop of Canterbury discovered last week when just before he launched a debate on morality in the House of Lords, he was invited during a BBC radio interview to condemn the adultery of the Prince of Wales. Dr George Carey declined, indicating that both members of the royal marriage bad his sup-port. It is not easy being an archbishop — you are condemned if you are judgmental, and condemned so eager to condemo moral relativism, the episode provided a piquant lesson on the difficulties of declaring moral absolutes.

Dr Curey is not the only one concerned about a decline in morality. A recent Gallup poll published suggested 75 per cent of those interviewed thought Britain was less moral, with 72 per cent believing there is no longer a broadly agreed set of moral standards. Yet the poll contained its own contradictions because, paradoxically, further questions established a broad consensus on many issues of right and wrong: lying was condemned by 75 per cent, fare dodging on public transport by 83 per cent, and drink and driving by 97 per cent. Relativism raised its head with only 66 per cent saying it was wrong to say silent if undercharged | "lecturer" should be a proud enough title.

by a big chain store — compared with 84 per cent if undercharged by a corner shop. Where there was more confusion was on which order the "seven deadly sins" should be placed. Aaked to identify the worst, envy was chosen by 28 per cent followed by avarice (20 per cent), lust (12), glut-

tony (12), wrath (9), pride (7) and sloth (3).

Dr Carey is worried by a modern moral vacuum in which too few people have thought about the purpose of life. He should take note of the familiar advice of Oxford philosophers: the layman who thinks that he wants some authority to tell him the objective truth about good and evil, to provide him with a purpose and a creed, is liable to find, if omeone takes him at his word, that he already has very strong valuations of his own, and that they clash with those offered.

Sensibly, Dr Carey was much less apocalyptic in his speech to the Lords than in a newspaper article last week, in which he warned that if Britain's moral decline was not reversed business would descend into "clisotic gangsterism" and society could perish. Once again he raised the issue of moral reltivism. No one would quibble that his narrow definition of relativism — do-it-yourself morality with individuals selecting their own moral code — should be opposed. Morality is much more than a natter of taste or opinion. But relativism is much vider than this. It warns about absolutes and emphasises the need to take other elements — circumtances, conditions and culture — into account.

Without such qualifications, intolerance emerges. For every sin of modern-day relativism - and its readiness to explain deviant behaviour - the archsishop should remember the crimes committed by carlier Christians with their absolute faith ruth-lessly rooting out infidels. Let him take a boat up the Nile and observe the desceration of Egyptian temples by Christians who knew the truth - the

The problem with debates led by archbishops is that morality - as Dr Carey conceded - should not just be left to people with religious inclinations. The Greeks were searching for truth and goodness long before Christ was born. And as Gallup noted, it is not the Church (10) per cent), or school (13) per cent) where people believe they learn their moral code but their home (83 per cent). It is not quite that simple: politicians, industrialists and the media all play their part. People who are told there is no such thing as society are less likely to help others. Yet in an economy in which people have been encouraged to light for themselves, avarice is still placed second among the deadly sins. All is not lost.

A proliferation of professors

ISTORY has not turned full circle . . . yet. In the Middle Ages the three academic titles master, doctor, professor — were synonymous. Oxford has not gone that for back but for 261 of the university's academic staff, Monday dawned a glad confident morning: 162 became professors and 99 readers in one go. Overnight the number of professors jumped from 199 to 361 and the numher of readers from 107 to 206. Journalists are well qualified to comment on such developments for as readers may have observed, the number of editors on newspapers has similarly multiplied. Part of the motive appears to be the same: a management strapped for cash but ready to buy some relief by conferring higher status for the same pay. The new professors will receive no more money and their duties remain the same. But Oxford insists that each of the 261 promotions had to pass through a rigorous selection procedure, it seeks to end the anomaly under which celebrated Oxford nent academics holding professorial titles at other institutions. It hopes to ensure its academics get better conference bedrooms — and better research grants too.

The move is one more step towards the American model, where all academic staff seem to be either assistant, associate or full professors. Two years ago, the UK's Association of University Teachers floated a similar idea in the wake of a wave of new professors when the polytechnics were re-labelled universities. Snobbery was the main motive even though the polys were using managerial position rather than scholarship as tential victim. Communists will contheir main test. A secure profession would not need such status labels. Like "reporter",

Russia obsessed by its sense of destiny

Martin Woollacott

able to get off the Russian treadmill is hard to know. Those nervously watching Russia from outside, hoping for a clear-cut victory for reform or the country's definitive arrival in that state of grace called Democracy seem bound be disappointed time and again.

Yeltsin has won by a large margin. Yet his triumph is no sooner recorded than the struggle begins again. This is not only because the ommunists remain a formidable opposition, but because, in achieving victory, Yeltsin has drawn into his own camp elements of the authoritarian nationalist forces to which the remodelled Communists now belong. Instantly, the focus switches to the between Victor Chernomyrdin and Alexander Lebed, with Yeltsin in a position to play his divide-and-rule games once more Yesterday, it was vital that Yeltsin should prevail over Zyuganov. Today we are told it is vital that Chernomyrdin should prevail over Lebed lussia will not give us rest.

Nor is this a new experience From the moment Gorbachev came o power, Russian politics has of fered a series of crises in which it was asserted, in Russia and outside, that a critical decision was about to be taken. Taken, it proved of less importance, or at least of less positive importance, than had been claimed. Bad outcomes might be averted, but good ones were not necessarily secured.

Who remembers now the man battles fought by Gorbacher to push through this or that reform, his skilful handling of volatile assemblies, his winning of yet another set of "powers" allegedly indispensable to the solution of the Soviet Union's problems? Then came the choice between Gorbachev and Yeltsin, between the reformer who, for all his achievments, had failed to defeat the forces of reaction, and the new leader who promised to bury them. But who, as it turned out, did not.

Under Yeltsin, we have had the comedy of tilt and trim in fullest neasure. Reformers in, then out, then in again; the power of the security forces enhanced, then their disciplining: war, then peace, in Chechenia: a constant flirtation with nationalist ideas. Three dramatic votes favouring, in turn, Yeltsin, Zhirinovsky's party, the Communists, and now a fourth, again for Yeltsin.

The key to this lurching back and forth lies in the ancient Russian preoccupation with national power and destiny and an almost equally ancient division between a school of rational aspirations and a school of renew itself, Zynganov said at Davos earlier this year, a political "black hole" would such in the states of central Asia and "the entire world would probably collapse". His achievment has been to publicise a synthesis between communism and Tsarist nationalism, in which Lenin stands in the line of Peter the Great and both in the line of Christ.

The West is seen as materialist and hostile, Russia always as its potinue fighting, Sovietskya Rossiya, said last week, "to save our country from devastation and enslavement".

sense, but it is pyschologically potent. It makes Russian history whole again, proposes to heal the solit between communists and other kinds of nationalists, and provides a non-Marxist basis for political asso ciation between Russia, other east ern Slavs, and the Tatar and Turkic peoples of Central Asia. What several years of open poli-

tics have done is to bring this kind of thing into the mainstream, make it respectable, and package it for Western-style electioneering. But its roots go back almost 30 years to a time when communists, aware that the Marxist ideology was dead, began to search around for an ideological replacement. One road led toward the nationalist-communis synthesis now represented b Zyuganov. The other was the road of modernisation, through reform, of political structures, cutting military expenditure, re-organising industry and agriculture, and re-casting the oviet Union as a free association. That was Gorbachev's way. Yeltsin, pragmatist and opportunist, intermittently protects that tradition but makes concessions to the non-communist version of the other, like the co-opting of Lebed, when his power s threatened. The result is an unsuble alliance between liberals, conser atives, and nationalists.

The camp of reform in Russia was mly able to match the nationalist brew at a time when Gorbaches seemed to promise a renewed and avigorated Soviet Union, or When Yeltsin briefly captured Russian popular feeling after the coup. Reform has brought confusion and pain. crime and disorder, as well as benefirs. Yeltsin, repudiating it at one mo ment, wekoming it back at another, rides the storm. Why does Russian politics apparently offer no escape

THE BROAD answer is that the morality play of modern nations is far from over. We are nly now beginning to admit how much nationalism was the main cagine of political action on both sides of the old Iron Curtain and how vrong were expectations of its lemise. The truth is that both nationdism and internationalism were strong, and interlocking. A number of nations, including France, Ger many, Russia, Britain, and the United States, lay claim to world roles.

Such claims are, at bottom, myst cal, unjustified, odd. Yet they are exraordinarily difficult to set aside Russia's sense of mission may be, as Solzhenitsyn argues, essential to its national being.

George F Kennan says, in his book At A Century's Ending, that we are at a hard and low moment in Russian people. They are just in the process of recovering from all the heartrending reverses that this brutal century has brought to them. We should bear this in mind."

In that recovery, the restatement of the visionary as well as the pragmatic traditions of Russia and the presentation as choices for voters is inevitable. Both traditions come with objectionable baggage, even that in the nationalist train is significantly more objectionable. A decisive victory for either is unlikely. Russia is not going to let us off the hook in the foreseeable future.

lish yields are down. How much this is due to the pressures of population growth, lack of land management or oil industry-related pollution depends on which lobby groups you

All of which raises the question of to what extent any international company operating in a deprived Third World country should be held responsible for functions which are. or should be, the preserve of the national government. In the case of Nigeria, the debate is clouded still further by the failure of the national government to redistribute helly oil evenues to the producing areas. and by the myriad local tribal teudons which make it almost impossible to get an accurate assessment of

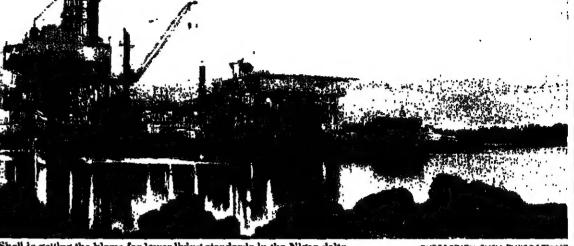
the views of local people. Yet the debate that took place last week between Mr Agbedetse and Shell's local general manager, Steve Ollerearnshaw, in front of an audience of villagers down the Abadino river does, in simplified form, high-

light the underlying conflict.
Although he had cut out a career for himself as a British-based barrister. Mr Agbedetse says that he was driven by his conscience to return to help his native Itsekiri tribe. Waiting until the contingent from

Shell has sat down in the corrugated tin-roofed meeting hall, Mr Agbedetse drops to his knee before hief Sunday and the other tribal elders, some wearing bowler hata and all seated at differing heights to reflect their varying degrees of Waiting until his guests have

peen served Star beer or cola, he lulls them into a false sense of security, praising Shell for its "sheer hard work" which has "opened up the unknown hidden wealth of our country". And then he turns





Oil inflames a delta of discontent

A barrister berates Shell in front of an audience of village elders. It's music

to the ears of the military, writes Patrick Donovan

IVE him a wig and black silk gown, and Napolean Agbe-detse could have walked back into the south London courtruoms where he used to practise as a barrister. He is on the bank of the Abadino river, deep inside the mosquito-infested mangrove swamps of the Niger delta, Despite the shirt-soaking humidity, Mr Agbedetse is immaculately dressed in a heavy black pinstripe suit.

Standing on the jetty amid a welter of gawping young hoys, he cuts a hugely incongruous figure as he courteously greets representatives of the Shell oil company and pre-pares, yet again, to do verbal battle on behalf of the miserably poor Omadino people. This is only one of the hundreds of remote rural communities in Nigeria who feel they are being cheated out of their birthright by foreign oil companies.

This issue has rarely been out of the headlines since the country's military government late last year outraged international opinion by proceeding with the hanging of environmental activist Ken Saro-Wiwa — a campaigner for the the Ogoni people, who live in the region to the east of the delta Shell, which operates a consor-

tium responsible for drilling more than half the country's oil reserves. has been widely criticised for not doing more to oppose the execution. It is perceived by many in the West to have huge influence with the authorities as oil now accounts for as much as 90 per cent of the government's revenue. But within the subsistence-level fishing com-munities like the Omadinos near the oil town of Warri, anger is

steadily growing. ist month, bu protesters Shell to shut down its drilling rig in nearby Jones Creek - the latest of a string of incidents throughout the Niger basin, where local conmunities' dissatisfaction has boiled over into direct action against Shell

Six million people live in this 70,000-square kilometre province. These are rural communities, eking out their living from the mud-brown vaters of the Niger and its fast-running tributaries snaking out across a massive expanse of rain forest and

mangrove swamp.

But their living standards have

Agbedetse accuses Shell of "dicta-"On paper, they dialogue with the

community on what developments are needed, but in reality Shell operatives dictate what they want, irre-Not only do communities like the Omadino get little back from local oil exploration, but also Shell, be us-

serts, is decimating the region's staple occupation of fishing, through oil spills. He adds: "The plight of those of us in the rural operation areas is one of depression, neglect and poverty." As they sit in their green overalls,

several Shell officials have clearly heard this all before. General man-

Shell cannot ignore the fact that it has drained billions of dollars of profits out of Nigeria during the past five decades

ager Mr Ollerearnshaw gets to his pointing out that the company has given the community a block of classrooms and public toilets and will shortly be donating a health centre - the latest items from Shell's \$30 million-a-year community assistance programme for the Niger delta region. A further \$100 million is allocated for the environ-

He tries to raise the point that Shell is a company, and cannot take on all the functions of central government. But one angry young man, wearing blue and white robes attempts to hijack the meeting, angrily shouting that the company must do more.

Lagos, the company's managing director, Brian Anderson, admits that adverse publicity surrounding its involvement in Nigeria has been "very bad" for the company's image, particularly the controversy surrounding the Saro-Wiwa hanging. But Shell insists that the situation in the Niger delta region is far more complex, and Mr Anderson claims that its influence on the hardline national government is far less than the West supposes it to be.

Shell's stance is that it is, after all. per cent stake in a consortium in I tary government.

plummeted: wildlife is scarce, and | knife. Listened to attentively by | which the state-owned Nigeria Na-fish yields are down. How much this | dozens of stony-faced villagers, Mr | tional Petroleum Corporation has a majority holding. The group, which includes Elf of France and Italy's Agip, pumps more than half of Niceria's output of 2 million barrels . day, giving the country oil revenues worth 87 billion, of which the govrament keeps 75 per cent.

At least 3 per cent of this revenue the oil-producing areas, according to the terms of a government deerec. This is to increase to 13 per cent, although the higher figure has yet to be ratified.

In practice, it appears that govroment aid has all but broken down, and Shell says that the adpayments and failing to stump up enough money to meet targets for the joint-venture consortium. That puts even more pressure on the funds Shell and its other partners have for community projects.

The problem is that for many of the rural inhabitants of the Niger delta, Shell has effectively become the government. It may protest that t does not aspire to become a 21st century version of the East India Company; yet the more it seeks to pacify local people by taking over the role of building hospitals and providing schools, the more it replaces Nigeria's military dictator ship as a target for civil dissent.

And yet Shell has been extracting oil here for 50 years. It may play the role of the community-minder Western oil company. But why is it only now making such a fanfare about its perfectly laudable programmes to replant the mangrove swamps and bury its pipelines if not to improve its public image?
Of course attitudes change, bu

Shell cannot ignore the fact that i has drained billions of dollars o profits out of Nigeria during the past five decades. Its payback to the community has hardly been consistent over that period. And as with all oil explorers, it has inevitably conobvious sign of any significant | been charged with the killing. spillage within its operating areas in the delta.

But Shell is now having to pay i full. It has played such a pivotal role in Nigeria's economy that it must bear some responsibility when the going gets rough. But the company's predicament may be useful. too, for Nigeria's leader, General Sani Abacha: the controversy diverts attention from the country's fundamental problem — the corrupa commercial company with a 30 | tion and inefficiency in its own mill-

Britain will say 'no' to call for sanctions

Nick Cohen

RITAIN will resist further sanctary junta, and put the profits of British Airways and London's City before international demands to in crease pressure on the regime.

Diplomats said last week they would block moves by Canada, New Zealand and Jamaica for tougher measures against Nigeria, The three countries are certain to call for a severing of air links when the Commonwealth action group, which is co-ordinating the international response to the junta's suppression of free elections, meets in September They are also likely to raise the question of a freeze of Nigeria's for เทียก ละระปร

In public, Foreign Office spokes men say ministers "will consider any proposal" from international partners. But in private senior civil servants were adminant that no further sanctions would be allowed British Airways would be the main loser if air links were cut, one said and the British government was "not about to tell BA to hand over he crative business to Air France of onic other competitor".

The Treasury has ruled out freezing the junta's assets, for tear that it would damage the City's appeal as a sate home for foreign capital. Nigerian democrats in exile in Britain and they were not surprised by the British attitude, "We've learnt not to expect too much from the Government," said Makin Soymka, "The Foreign Office has made it very

possible." Even the few formal sanctions Britain has taken since the execution of the Ogoni environmental activist Ken Saro-Wiwa last year are being breached with government

acquiescence. Leading members of the regime are meant to be banned from Britain. But while refugees were being denied asylum, ministers allowed Alhaii Gidado ldris, secretary to the military government and one of its most se

nior civil servants, to visit London. The all-party parliamentary human rights group called for a far harder line against the junta last week and gave a warning that death squads were murdering the regime's political opponents. It cited the murder in October of Pa Alfred Renawe, a leading supporter of the opposition National Democratic Conlition, and arson attacks on newspapers critical of the regime

and homes of opponents. On June 4, the outspoken wife of Chief Moshood Abiola, jailed after he won the 1993 presidential election, was shot dead. Kudirat Olayinka Abiola was murdered in roument, although there is no from a police roadblock. No one has

> The most prominent Nigerian po litical leader in exile, Chief Anthony Enghoro, who hunched a national campaign for democracy on February 25, fled the country after he heard that six armed men were looking for him.

He appealed to Britain, America and Canada to give him asylum 'The British said it would be inapprouriate for me to come to London," h said. "I was told not to press the matter." He has now found refuge in Washington. - The Observer

Lord Weinstock: steps down after

Thanks to Tory car boot

sales, Labour is right to

HEN It comes to fiscal policy, there is nothing re-motely new about New Labour, Gordon Brown is Stafford

Cripps half a century on, threaten-

ing to be an avatar of austerity even

before he moves into the Treasury

In fact, he promises to out-Cripps

Cripps, because the Attlee govern-

ment funded increased health

service spending without compen-

For this, Mr Brown deserves

praise, not criticism. There are

many aspects of Labour's economic

strategy that are overly cautious and

satory cuts elsewhere.

plan for fiscal severity,

writes Larry Elllott

Weinstock bids farewell with record profits

ORD WEINSTOCK last week delivered record profits and a booming order book plus a surpris-ingly high dividend increase as his place in British industrial history as farewell after 33 years in charge of one of the country's most successful the electrical and electronics group top managers. But he remains an enigma — a shadowy figure who emeritus after handling over as shuns the high profile adopted by to save English Electric from the unmanaging director in September to the former Rover and Lucas chief executive, George Simpson.

"His experience in industry is unrivalled and his 33-year record of achievement as managing director speaks for itself."

Profits broke the £1 billion barrier for the first time, almost £100 million higher than last year, before deducting a £48 million provision or contract disputes. The increase main businesses, and especially GEC-Marconi aerospace and defence electronics operations.

The telecoms joint venture with Siemens of Germany produced £10 million extra profit, while profits at power joint venture GEC-Alsthoni rose £20 million to £177 million.

revenues, which were about £10 bil-

flected the fact that nominal GDP

came in almost £13 billion lower

than expected. With a tax/GDP

ratio of 40 per cent, this knocked £5

But that was not the end of the story. Value added tax, corporation

tax and income tax were lower than

they should have been, even allow-

ing for the undershoot in nominal

GDP. The tax increases of 1993/94

pushed up the tax/GDP ratio, but

not by as much as the Government

have come up with six factors which

may have eroded tax revenues.

First, the 1994 crash in the bond

markets hit the profits of the finan-

cial sector, where tax payments rose

by just 6 per cent in 1995 following an 80 per cent leap in 1994. Had

they matched the 40 per cent rise in

corporation tax from industrial com-

panies, corporation tax would have

Second, the proliferation of tax-

free savings schemes may be costing

about £1 billion in forgone income

tax. Third, 35 per cent of the work

force is self-employed, against 30 per cent in the early 1980s. Self-em-

(PSBR) for 1995-96 would be £21.5 | medium term means the next 50 | policy loose by reassuring the City | after the election, not now.

been £1.5 billion higher.

lion lower than forecast.

billion off receipts.

In 33 years at the top of GEC, many of his peers.

The company was on the rocks in the late 1950s after it failed to manage the succession to the group's founder, Lord Hirst, and the end of the post-war electrical boom.

The board saw Weinstock as potential saviour because of his success in running the radio and televi-sion business of his father-in-law, Sir Michael Sobell. While GEC and other industry leaders struggled to make money in a growing consumer market, Sobell's Radio & Allied Industries, under Weinstock's leadership, went from strength to strength.

In 1961 GEC bought Radio & Allied and, less than two years later, on January 1, 1963, Weinstock took over as managing director, the post he has held ever since.

billion. It turned out to be £32.2 billon. The problem was not spending, the 11 years between 1981 and 1992 and it will increase the chances of a where controls remained tight, but the PSBR including privatisation because the chances of a pleasant surprise come Budget day.

receipts averaged a modest 1 per cent of GDP. In the five years since,

Britain is averaging 5.3 per cent.

The logic is obvious. Fiscal policy

needs to be tightened, and will be

ightenud once the election is over.

This is no bad thing, given Britain's

inadequate supply capacity and the

likelihood that any expansion in con-

sumer demand will trigger a sharp

increase in import penetration and a

concomitant deterioration in the bal-

ance of payments. The austerity of

the past few years, although unpopu-

lar, has been good for the economy:

The Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke,

s well aware of these home truths.

He knows he cannot afford to do

what Nigel Lawson did in 1987 and

offer a triple whammy of tax cuts,

higher public spending and a lower PSBR. He is also insistent that his

priority is to restore the Conserva-

tive party's reputation for economic

competence, which was destroyed on

Black Wednesday, and that ladling

out lax cuts is hardly the way to do it.

B UT THAT is not to say there won't be some tax cuts in this autumn's Budget, even if

the money has to be recycled from

somewhere else. Every member of

the UK needs more of it.

Tax trap awaits whoever wins election

Smaller businesses continued to disappoint as the Hotpoint and Creda division saw profits fall to £11 million. | squad", not prepared to stand on ceremony. He still is, single-minded in the pursuit of profitability.

By 1970 Weinstock had not only turned round GEC but had also conwelcome attentions of Plessey. Both deala left GEC as the undisputed industry leader, with interests ranging from aircraft and trains, through power station equipment, to defence electronics and consumer products.

Weinstock carried on efforts to rationalise the telecommunications supplier base through a takeover of Plessey, achieved eventually in 1989 through a joint venture with the GEC's German equivalent, Siemens. Dynamism was also evident in

power engineering with Alsthom of France, plus a merger of the white goods business in the UK with General Electric in the US.

Tight cash control and strict profitability targets remain Weinstock's hallmark and by those standards he

However, these chances should

not be exaggerated. On the revenue

side, things have started to look a

little rosier in recent months,

helped by the pick-up in consumer

spending. If this were to continue,

the Chancellor might be able to

stand up on Budget day and claim, straight-faced, that the hole in the

public finances was closing as mys-

teriously as it opened up. But, frankly, it would stretch credulity.

Public spending looks less promis-

ing - par for the course in a pre-

election year. Net departmenta

outlays are forecast to rise by 1.5 per

cent, but in the first two months of

the year they were up by 5.4 per cent

on the same months of 1994-95. The

possibility of further slippage this

year is high, particularly given that £1 billion of the £2.5 billion reserve is

already earmarked for compensating

The Chancellor's lamentations

tainly have to be some jiggery-pole

ery to depress the spending totals

for the arithmetic to stack up.

farmers with herds affected by

"mad cow disease".

London insurance market reing the support of more than

MERICA'S third largest computer firm, Digital will bring its global workforce down to about 54,000 from a peak of 120,000 in 1991.

IAMOND sales soared more than 10 per cent in Britain about the PSBR are not just hype. He may be able to cut taxes modestly. during the first three months of but only if revenues are buoyant and this year, suggesting the feel-good factor has finally returnedspending ministers show restraint. Even then, there would almost cer-

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

ı	me courses some but the expects her-	MIL CHARGE IS COUNTING OUT LIKE SU-				-
l	sonal tax cuts in the Budget, and	other Chancellor of yesteryear: Roy	Australia	1.9564-1.9583	1.9746-1.9766	Į
ì	personal tax cuts there almost cer-	Jenkins in 1970. But even if he re-	Austra	16.70-16.71	16.67-16.68	1
١	tainly will be. The interesting points	sists the pressure from Conserva-	Belglum	48.87-48,90	49.78-48.80	
۱	are how Mr Clarke will deliver them	tive Central Office, the need to	Canada	2.1287-2.1301	2.1191-2.1208	
١	and how I abour should respond.	tighten fiscal policy will remain.	Denmark	9.14·9.15	9.12-9.13	1
١	This week's summer economic	The real issue is not whether this	France	8.03-8.04	8.01-8.02	Į
l	forecasts will provide the first clue.	will happen but how. Labour's ideal	Germany	2.3737-2.3764	2.3690-2.3712	ı
١	Slower-than-expected growth, last	policy mix should be a loose mone-	Hong Kong	12.02-12.03	12.03-12.04	
ĺ	year's PSBR overshoot and the rev-	tary and a tight fiscal stance, but	Ireland	0.9740-0.9752	0.9721-0.9735	
I	ence shortfall mean that the PSBR	that does not mean the tax-and-	Italy	2,386-2,389	2,356-2,390	
١	forecast will be jacked up from the	spend choices have to be the same	Japan	172.16-172.33	170.30-170.54	
ı	£22.5 billion in the Budget. The City	as they are now.	Netherlands	2.6838-2.6880	2.8569-2.6597	ı
١	expects £27-28 billion, but the Chan-	Mr Brown could and should cut	New Zeeland	2.2545-2.2576	2.2697-2.2723	
۱	cellor may be tempted to err on the	the Great sales is a secondately the	Norway	10.13-10.15	10.10-10.12	
J	side of caution.	the fiscal cake in a completely dif-	Portugal	243.99-244.22	243.63-243.90	
١		ferent way from Mr Clarke, taxing	Spain	199,45-199.67	199.34-199.49	
١	This would have three advan-	the rich more heavily to benefit the	Sweden	10.39-10.41	10.32-10.34	
	tages. It would send out a warning	poor. If he does not make the right	Gwitzerland	1.9624-1.9646	1,9419-1.9443	
ı	to all those profligate spending min-	political chaican in office he will do	LiDa	1 5540 4 5545	1 KER1	

HE European Commission has insisted on its right to vet the proposed alliance between British Airways and American Airlines. The two car-riers have faced a volley of criticism from competitors that they are trying to carve out a monopoly on transatiantic routes.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

G ERMAN executives from BMW are to fill the top two posts at Rover, despite earlier indications that a British chief executive would be recruited. Walter Hasselkus is to become chief executive and work with Wolfgang Reitzie, who was appointed chairman a year ago. Meanwhile Rover has cut production at its Oxford plant at the cost of 300 jobs.

THE French government is under pressure to agree to a third restructuring plan for Crédit Lyonnais, the state-owned bank which has lost more than Fr20 billion (\$3.9 billion) in four years.

ceived a boost from a poll show-

THE Post Office, which is involved in a pay dispute with its sorting office and delivery workers, reported profits of 8663 million for the past year, down by \$79 million on the pre vious 12 months. Sir Michael Heron, the PO chairman, said by the Government, amounting to \$1.5 million for every working day, were to blame for this week's 1p rise in postage rates.

axe 7,000 jobs worldwide. This

that the sep-oil of nationalset in-	Torce is self-inproject, against ou	de Comment class (24c) inclined of	for the arminetic to stack up,		July 8	July 1
dustries is costing some 2 per cent	per cent in the early 1980s. Self-em-	the Conservative party expects per-	Mr Clarke is coming on like an-			
of gross domestic product (GDP) a	ployed people tend to pay less tax	sonal tax cuts in the Budget, and	other Chancellor of yesteryear: Roy	Australia	1.9564-1.9583	1.9746-1.9766
year in lost revenues, the North Sea	than full-time employees, who are	personal tax cuts there almost cer-	Jenkins in 1970. But even if he re-	Austra	16.70-16.71	16.67-16.68
oil companies have escaped with	taxed at source.	tainly will be. The interesting points	sists the pressure from Conserva-	Belglum	48.87-48,90	49.78-48.80
only the lightest of tax regimes, and	Fourth, involuntary stock-build-	are how Mr Clarke will deliver them	tive Central Office, the need to	Canada	2.1287-2.1301	2.1191-2.1208
the growth of self-employment has	ing caused by the alowdown in the	and how I abour should respond.	tighten fiscal policy will remain.	Denmark	Q.14-Q.15	9.12-9.13
eroded the tax base by encouraging	economy is hitting VAT, because	This week's summer economic	The real issue is not whether this	France	8.03-8.04	8.01-8.02
a discount-for-eash zeitgeist.	VAT is reclaimable on stocks. Fifth,	forecasts will provide the first clue.	will happen but how. Labour's ideal	Germany	2.3737-2.3764	2.3890-2.3712
In normal circumstances, the so-	the big increase in the VAT thresh-	Slower-than-expected growth, last	policy mix should be a loose mone-	Hong Kong	12.02-12.03	12.03-12.04
lution to this problem would be	old for companies from £25,400 in	year's PSBR overshoot and the rev-	tary and a tight fiscal stance, but	Ireland	0.9740-0.9752	0.9721-0.9735
equally simple. The Government	1990/91 to £47,000 has encouraged	ence shortfall mean that the PSBR	that does not mean the tax-and-	Italy	2,386-2,389	2,356-2,390
would tighten fiscal policy through	the splitting of companies into	forecast will be jacked up from the	spend choices have to be the same	gabau	172.16-172.33	170.39-170.54
higher taxation or lower spending.	smaller units. Last, higher VAT	£22.5 billion in the Budget. The City	as they are now.	Netherlands	2.6838-2.6880	2.8589-2.6597
But, of course, these are not normal	rates have stimulated the growth of	expects £27-28 billion, but the Chan-	Mr Brown could and should cut	New Zealand	2.2545-2.2576	2.2097-2.2723
times: this is an election year when	the black economy.	cellor may be tempted to err on the	the fiscal cake in a completely dif-	Norway	10.13-10.15	10.10-10.12
the needs of the economy run into	It is easy to see why the Govern-	side of caution.	fortest way from Mr. Clarkery dis-	Portugal	243.99-244.22	243.63-243.90
	ment is having so much trouble	This would have three advan-	ferent way from Mr Clarke, taxing	Spain	199,45-199.67	199.34-199.49
the exigencies of political survival.		town It mould dead out a war-t-	the rich more heavily to benefit the	Sweden	10.39-10.41	10.32-10.34
These are the facts. In the 1994	achieving its aim of balancing the	tages. It would send out a warning	poor. If he does not make the right	8witzerland	1.9624-1.9646	1,9419-1.9443
Budget, the Chancellor of the Ex-	budget over the medium term, In-	to all those profligate spending min-	political choices in office, he will de-	USA	1.5540-1.5545	1.6564-1.6681
chequer predicted that the public	deed, this now looks like an unreal-	isters about the poor state of the	serve censure. But these are politi-	ECU	1.2531-1.2542	1,2496-1.2509
sector borrowing requirement	isable aspiration, unless the	PSBR, it would help keep monetary	cal choices: they need to be made	FINE160 Shan	o Index up 18,0 et 67	41.E. FT88 250
(PSBR) for 1995-96 would be £21.5	I medium term means the next 50	policy loose by reassuring the City	after the election, not now	Indiana day		An

in Brief

Will Chirac come clean on the Paris housing scandal?

EDITORIAL

THREE men conspired to put France, in theory governed by the rule of law, in a highly uncomfortable position when it was playing host to the G7 meeting in Lyon last month. The three men were a director of public prosecutions who habitually buries cases implicating members of Paris's City Council; a Paris police chief who instructed his officers to refuse help to the investigating magistrate under whose authority they had been placed; and a justice minister and parliamentary deputy for the capital's 13th arrondissement who stated that "It is not for [him] to have any opinion" on this in-fringement of the penal code.

During his campaign for the presidency last year, Jacques Chirac was forced to tackle the problem of the state's impartiality. The issue was highlighted by the former prime minister, Raymond Barre, during the previous presidential campaign — seven years earlier — and sucbattle against Chirac, then The state's importiality again mayor of Parls and president of seemed to be in doubt when the

two elements whose absence can

the neo-Gaullist Rassemblement pour la République (RPR). During last year's campaign, Chirac said he was determined to ensure that what he himself had described as one of "the great principles of the republic" would be respected. "An impartial state and an independent judiciary are result in all kinds of abuse," he said last year. "As far as I am con-cerned, I fully intend to guarantee them if the need arises." That need has arisen. First,

there is the case of Olivier Foll. The Paris police chief said that he alone took the decision to tell officers assigned to inquiries being carried out by examining magistrate Eric Halphen not to accompany him when he searched the home of Paris's mayor, Jean Tiberi, last week.

Foll's behaviour was judged "totally lilegal" by Patrick Deved-jian, RPR deputy for the Hautsde-Seine département; and termed "virtually unprecedented" other property which earned him rent. Dominique is chief ad-viser to the minister of purliaby Simone Veil, former minister, beven years earlier — and successfully exploited at that time by François Mitterrand in his battle against Chile against Chiles against the contract of the co former magistrate and MEP for

halt investigations into the legalprompted him to remark during ity of the way Tiberi, when presids presidential campaign: dent of the decidedly opaque "What we have done for Paris we Opac (City of Paris Housing shall do for France." Authority), allocated a flat to his The judiciary would like to inson Dominique, who owned an-

What have you got this morning?' 'Nothing special. Just two or

public prosecutor decided to mayor for 18 years. That tenure

vestigate certain aspects of what Chirac and his followers "have done for Paris". The obstacles placed in its way suggest that opaque practices used in Paris may have rubbed off danger

1 : 1 ple

OH! RIEW!... 2 OU 3 AFFAIRES À CLASSER!..

Doubts rise as UN cuts Haiti force Jean-Michel Caroft in Santo Domingo

THE United Nations is due to continue pulling out of Haiti despite the inadequacies of the country's newly fledged police force and persistent insecurity. After lengthy negotiations, the Security Council has extended the UN contingent's mandate in Haiti by five months but reduced the number of troops from 1,200 to 600.

The 300 international police structors will remain, as will the 700 'anadian troops who constitute a 'voluntary contribution" by that country. To calm opposition criticism, Ottawa has persuaded Wash ington to contribute to their cost.

China and Russia initially opposed the proposal by the UN secretary general, Bontros Bontros-Ghali, that the UN roission in Haiti should be extended, but eventually came round to his view. The restoration of diplomatic relations between Russia and Haiti, combined with discreet trade talks between Beijing and Port-au-Prince (China was unbappy with an increasing Taiwanese presence in Haiti) swept away the remaining obstacles.

Eric Fait, the UN spokesman in Port-au-Prince, says the mission, to be called the UN Support Mission in Haiti, will gradually be turned into a mission aimed at helping to strengthen Haiti's institutions and develop its economy. The mission's mandate will end on November 30, a date not unconnected with the US presidential elections. President Clinton wants to see his troops out of the Island before the US electorate goes to the polls.

Meanwhile the breakdown of law and order remains one of the main concerns of Haitinns. The new police force, which replaced the army disbanded by the former president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, seems powerless to control mounting crime.

high price in the battle against zenglendos (gangsters): eight have been killed in recent months. The inadequacies of the police and the courts have encouraged people to take jus-tice into their own hands. Eight suspected zenglendos were lynched i Port-au-Prince in a single week.

Unrest among demobilised troops is also causing concern. Several hundred have demonstrated noisily in the capital, demanding back pay and threatening to take up arms if their demands are not met. The recent freeing in the US of

become more vulnerable with the | Progress (Fraph), has caused reemergence of a new order in newed friction between Washington and Port-au-Prince. Constant ran a militia set un le

the junta after its September 199 coup against Aristide. When Aris tide returned to power, Constant

A Haltian court sentenced him in his absence to hard labour for life. An embittered Constant told several newspapers that he was a CIA agent. stage is: can the damage be | That seems likely, as the US has still repaired after so many years of not extradited him - to the indignation of the Haltian government.

West revives its interest in Afghanistan

Frédéric Bobin

HE WEST has been accused of being cynical in its treat-ment of Afghanistan. First, it fought the Red Army using the the Afghan mojahedin as proxies. Then, when it suited, it pulled out of the cold war's last major battlefield, leaving the country drained of its

The United Nations organised high-profile interventions in Somalia and in Cambodia, so why did it not do the same in Afghanistan, which had served the cause of the

Some argue that the resistance fighters' former friends in the West ost interest in Afghanistan because it had become, in their eyes, the arena of incomprehensible medieval vendettas between Pathans, Tajiks, Uzbeks and Hazararas.

But Afghanistan is fast emerging from oblivion, in recent weeks the to show renewed interest in a country where there have been spectacular changes on the political and

In April, the UN Security Council The recent visit to Afghanistan and neighbouring capitals by Robin phel, the US assistant secretary of state for South Asia, is just one of several indications that Washington is again interested in a part of the world it deserted somewhat hastily once the Soviet Red Army pulled out in 1989.

Since spring the US has been working on a Bosnia-style plan that would culminate in an international

more than a legitimate concern for

Washington is striving to regain a foothold in Afghanistan in order to counter the increasing role played there by its sworn enemy, Iran. Tehran has been reaping the dividends of its numerous efforts to mediate between opposing Afghan factions and has succeeded in building up a network of "friends" that extends well beyond the Shi'ite Hazararas whom it has traditionally

Iran's diplomatic activism dates from late last year, when the Taliban - a new force of Pathan religious students that Tehran believed was manipulated by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the US - seized Herat, a city near the Afghan-Iranian border. The Pasdaran - Iranian

"guardians of the revolution" made an incursion into Afghan territory at that time in a bid to clear bor-Sunnis who were seen as enemies of Persian-speakers. Since that crisis, Iran has effected

re-examined the case of Afghanistan | a rapprochement with the more libafter a silence lasting seven years. eral Afghan regime headed by President Burhanuddin Rabbani, conveniently forgetting it had earlier stirred up Shi'ite opposition against him. The two governments now get on like a house on fire: they have con-

cluded several co-operation agree-ments in such areas as health, education and infrastructure, and Iran has recently opened two consulates outside Kabul.

The US is particularly worried about Iran's game plan because it | under the permanent threat of an- | neglect? of an arms embargo. Such solicil has been put into action at a time | cient regional rivalries.

tude for Afghanistan would be almost touching if it did not disguise motives that amounted to much waning. Islamabad has been unsucregional ally — Pakislan — is waning. Islamabad has been unsuc-cessful in its attempt to regain the hold it had over mojahedin groups during the anti-Soviet war, when it dished out CIA money and

The issue needs to be cleared

up immediately because it in-

Le Monde

The Pakistanis, out of hostility to a predominantly Tajik regime in Kabul they could not influence. made the mistake of supporting armed opposition movements that failed miserably. Islamabad's manoeuvres simply increased anti-Pakistani feeling within the Kabul government,

mentary relations.

which reacted by moving closer not only to Tehran and Moscow but also to New Delhi. They also resulted in its creation in 1947, Pakistan's main strategic motivation has been to prevent the formation of an alliance between Afghanistan and India.

AKISTAN'S setbacks were causing concern in Washington, which, despite a slight warming of relations with India as the cold war came to an end, continues to regard Islamabad as the keystone of its regional strategy.

The US is worried that developments in Afghanistan will have an adverse effect on Pakistan, eroding its defence capacity vis-à-vis lts hereditary enemy, India, and barring access to the emerging markets of ex-Soviet central Asia.

These handicaps are comand religious turmoil in Afghanistan may spill over its borders. Pakistan, a loosely-knit nation held together solely by the Muslim religion, lives

Most feared are the proud and unpredictable Pathan tribes whose lands are bisected by Pakistan's western border. Nothing frightens gence of a Pathan nationalist movewhich would weaken

Another danger is that anti-US slamism may prove contagious. In this respect, the recent appointment in Kabul of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who heads the fundamentalist Hizbe Islami movement, as Afghan Inexperienced and poorly equipped police officers are paying a

prime minister is not good news for Pakistan. Hekmatyar, a former protégé of the Pakistani secret service, has some scores to settle with Benazir Bhutto's government, which, under US pressure, stopped supporting him after it was revealed he had links with those responsible for the bomb attack on New York's World

Trade Centre. Worse, Bhutto's own Islamist opposition, the Jamaat Islami party, must be pleased with the improving fortunes of Hekmatyar, with whom it has niways had close ties. Bhutto's government, which is engaged in a running battle with Jamaat, may

The fact that Tehran seems to have a finger in every pie, that Kabul is poised to adopt an anti-US policy, and that Islamabad looks increasingly weak is a source of great | fled to the US. concern to Washington. It has pounded by the risk that the ethnic | prompted the State Department's renewed interest in Alghan affairs. The question to be asked at this

questionable, but the necessity for fiscal stringency is not one of them. The problem is simple. The Con-servatives promised Britain a dynamic, entrepreneurial society in which we would all be like Richard Branson; instead they have created a car-boot-sale society in which the role model is Del Boy Trotter. And in a car-boot-sale society only plonkers pay tax. Britain is now a seriously undertaxed country. It has been estimated that the self-off of nationalised industries is costing some 2 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP) a year in lost revenues, the North Sea oil companies have escaped with only the lightest of tax regimes, and

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

OPINION

Jim Hoagland

HE INITIAL American re-

Saudi Arabia has been to mourn and

to hang tough. President Clinton hit

the right, necessary note by imme-

diately vowing that the nation would

not weaken its military presence in

But during last week's celebra-

tion of America's 220th Indepen-

dence Day the United States needs

to make another, longer-term vow as well: to remove the national de-

pendence on imported oil that

helped put those airmen in harm's

The slain airmen were not in the

kingdom on some abstract, charita-

ble mission to contain Saddam Hus-

sein's predatory Iraqi army and protect the Saudi monarchy. They

were also protecting America's

druglike reliance on cheap energy

that pours out of the oil taps of the Middle East.

In choosing to station combat air-

craft and about 5,000 troops in the

Persian Gulf to protect the world's

most important oil fields, the United

States has also chosen to involve it

self in the region's murderous and

tangled politics. Because of the way

we live now, we have given our-

The list of people who need to be

asked if they did everything they

could have done to prevent the

truck bomb assassinations does not

stop with the base commander in

Dhahran, the brass at the Pentagon

and officials in the Clinton Cabinet.

In a more general sense, the list

should also include every American

selves little choice.

thing we could have.

the Persian Gulf out of fear.

way in the first place.

sponse to the terror bombing that killed 19 U.S. airmen in

Tightrope walker

HE globe-trotting photographer, Marc Riboud, is back | an inflatable doll with a Pierre n the news with an exhibition at the Centre National de la Photographie in Paris. Still youthful despite his shock of white hair, the 73 year-old Riboud focuses this time on one of the countries he knows

As he himself points out in a short statement displayed at the beginning of the exhibition, he is probably the only Westerner who has been able to continue taking photographs in China since the

Dis nakes him a privileged ob server. When he talks about "being able to", he is alluding indirectly to the countless complications that most "long-noses" --- as the Chinese call westerners - run into as soon as they pick up a camera and start taking photographs in China. Both the exhibition, Marc Riboud,

40 Ans de l'hotographie en Chine (1956-1996), and the book of the same name (published by Nathan) that accompanies it, have a deliberately pedagogical flavour.

They are divided into three sections: "The Survival of Ancient China and Tradition in the Fifties", "Puritanical Maoism and Tradition Faced with Modernity", and "The Extremes of Modernity and the Economic Boom". The titles of each section say a lot about Riboud's determination to toe a particular line.

Working in black and white, he points up some of the spectacular contrasts that exist between the China of old — ancestral and revolutionary China - and the country now being swamped by capitalism.

A stone statue of the Great Helmsman (1971) is representative of the past; a plastic Superman (1994) typifies the present. An aristocratic-looking old woman — a fossli - is contrasted with a carefree pin-up. Workers, teachers, craftsmen, Maoist activists, children, dilapidated houses and expanses of from the ubiquitous dollar, posters

Cardin label, high heels, flashy cars, mobile phones and night clubs.

Riboud has no doubt where his preferences lie. He says he longs for the "brauties of a 1,000-year-old culture (which) seem to be fading away before our very eyes". He goes on: "The whole of the East we used to love for its permanence of mind and matter is abruptly being transmogrified into an extreme form of the West, in a way that resembles a speeded-up film of the process we urselves have undergone.

No one would dispute that. But is Riboud forgetting that Maoism was responsible for the deaths of millions of people and a wave of atrocities? He was not present when Mao came to power; he did not experience at first hand the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution or Tiananmen Square.
Like many other leftwing intellec-

tuals, Riboud somehow hoped that the new China would give the people back their self-respect. But he was unable to photograph the horrors that ensued and can therefore only offer up a pacified, squeakyclean image of the country.

This is precisely what makes his exhibition so fascinating. It poses key questions about the nature of photo-reportage. What is the meaning of pictures which give an account of a country without making any reference to its darkest hours? What kind of China will be perceived by later generations who are not necessarily familiar with historical fact, when they see such skilfully photographed and "beautiful" im-

It is edifying to compare Riboud's work with the horrifying pictures published by the Chinese dissident, Harry Wu, in Laggai, The Chinese Gulag (Westview Press). Wu. who as the son of a banker was a perfect example of an "enemy of the people", spent 19 years in labour camps before flecing to the United States



A photographer's studio not far from the Forbidden City in Beijing, hotographed by Marc Riboud in 1957

After obtaining American nationality he returned secretly to China and took photographs of public executions (carried out "as a deterrent to others"), of people detained in prisons disguised as factories or state farms, and of the crackdown on monks in Lhasa, Tibet.

Riboud's approach is quite different. First, the captions which accompany his photographs in the book and the exhibition are written in the first person singular. China by Riboud is first and foremost Riboud's China, in the best photoreportage tradition of the agency he worked for, the Magnum Group, founded by Robert Capa, Henri Cartier-Bresson, Werner Bischof and David Seymour.

Riboud's aim is to "affect first and foremost through the senses and not through ideas", in other words to move and thus give food for thought. He gives priority to formal considerations, repeatedly pointing to visual parallels between movements, faces, posters, objects and

It is then up to exhibition visitors or readers of his book, if they so desire, to delve deeper and verify their impressions by reading Riboud's captions. These are extremely sub-

tle. They demonstrate that Riboud determined democrat that he is consistently played cat and mous with the people he describes as his "guardian angels" - minders whose job was not only to guide him but to keep tabs on him.

The other side of Chinese society - the repression, the violence, the starvation, the poverty - can be sensed as long as one keeps one's eyes open. In one photograph, for example, which shows a group of navvies hard at work building a road, a young man is wearing a rather distinguished-looking pair of glasses. It is neither the best nor the best-known picture in the exhibit tion, but it seems to illustrate the fate of an intellectual forced to join a road gang.

The caption confirms one's hunch: "A whole generation of students, forced to carry out work of the hardest kind, was sacrificed. Most of them are now unemployed

ular pictures have ensured Riboud's reputation as a photographer. The viewer will probably be more impressed by his mages of a milling crowd, exotic dscapes, fraught facial expressions, the anger of an anti-American demonstrator or a jogger on th

All of them are pictures that could ue interpreted as verging dangerously on agitprop, were it not for the fact that Riboud takes the precaution, in his captions, of bringing his itentions into focus.

It is by dealing a kind of glancing blow that Riboud comes to terms with China's extremely violent side. It is a perilous exercise, and he probably feels more at ease in the contemporary period, when the traditional face of China is being papered over, patchwork-style, with the trappings of capitalism.

Riboud handles all this - the surface gloss, the sexy posters, a group of antiquated bicycles passing under a four-storey spaghetti junction - with the skill of a tightrope walker poised above the void.

Marc Riboud, 40 Ans de Photographie en Chine (1956-1996). Centre National de la Photographie Paris. Closed Tuesday. Until July 29 developing national energy alternatives to cheap oil. As a nation, we rebelled against higher energy taxes and pricing oil products to discourage their waste and misuse. After brief spells of panic in 1973 and 1979, we continued to deepen America's dependence on imported Mid-

Price for Cheap Oil

National discussion of an energy policy today consists of Bob Dole proposing a gas tax cut of 4.3 cents gallon - at a time when he claims hat he wants to crase America's oudget deficits - and Bill Clinton saying that's fine by him.

The politicians indulge the electorate rather than making an appeal to the tradition of independence and sacrifice that the Fourth of July symbolizes. The last president who hid make that appeal, and made energy policy a keystone of his government, was the hapless, one-term Democrat Jimmy Carter.

This is not a partisan issue. I November 1973, no less a Republican than Richard Nixon, respond ing to the Arab oil embargo, called on the nation to pursue "Project In dependence" as it had pursued the Apollo and Manhattan Projects: "Let us pledge that by 1980, under able to meet America's energy needs from America's own energy resources."

In 1973, America consumed 17.3 million barrels of oil a day, importing 6.2 million or 35 percent. One out of every 10 imported barrels came from Saudi Arabia. By 1980, consumption and import pat terns had not changed. Last year, Americans used

17.7 million barrels a day. Imports rose to 8.8 million - 50 percent of consumption. Saudi Arabia counted for 15 percent of U.S. imports, and 86 percent of all U.S. imports from the Persian Gulf, cases is no, we did not do every-

The small rise in total U.S. consumption over 22 years shows that



Tangled remains . . . A US air force officer surveys the rulned building in Dhahran where 19 airmen died PROTOCOVER GREENWARE WITH

big strides have been made in on- | diately, Saddam today would have a ergy conservation. Since Nixon's speech markets have been in glut more often than in shortage. Oil companies and others use the same statistics I cite to argue that Nixon and Carter were wrong: There has always been and always will be cheap oil available for Americans.

But the death of the 19 airmen at Dhahran testifies to the real cost that Americans are paying for continuing to rely so heavily on energy supplies that can be disrupted at the drop of a crown, or the rise of a

Oil is not the only reason we are in the Persian Gulf for the foreseeable future. Had George Bush listened to those who said he should not take on Iraq frontally and imme-

sophisticated nuclear, chemical and biological warfare capability at his

But that was not obvious at the time to the American public for the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff). Saddam's threat to Saudi oil fields was. It triggered the significant escalation of stationed American troops in the Gulf that has apparently enraged Saddam, Saudi domestic extremists or whoever set off that truck bomb.

America's first task is to work with the Saudis to find the bombers and punish them. But it is also time for Americans to get serious about alternatives to cheap Middle East oil, and to depending on high visibility, high vulnerability military bases on inhospitable soil.

with a possibly ailing president, proceed through the unfulfillable campaign promises he made and end with all the pains of transition that no amount of demo-cracy can quickly wipe aways declining forms, despoiled envi-

But this is not the time to dwell on such troubles. This is a time to savor the remarkable triumph of the Russian people Despite all their suffering and shrugging off all predictions to the contrary, Russian voters made history last week by advancing democracy in their country and by rejecting, once and for all, the false promises of

predicted such an outcome. Russians have endured an economic slump by many measures deeper than the U.S. Great Depression. They are battered by unfamiliar crime and brazen corruption. They have no tradition of democracy. Nothing would have been more natural than for them to blume democracy itself and ac cept the Communists' mirage of a return to the stability (with all its acknowledged hardships) of the

At the same time, Presider Boris Yeltsin was episodically ill, inconstant in his devotion to lib eral democracy and saddled with an unpopular and immoral war he had started inside his own country, in Chechnya, Nothing would have been more natural, it was said, than for him to steal the election through fraud or cancel it.

Instead, he contested it as it his life depended on it, shaking hands and frugging from Kaliningrad to Siberia. And Russian voters, faced with no appealing choices, still turned out in numbers U.S. voters never match. In the first round, nearly two-thirds of them registered their disapproval of current circumstances by voting for candidates other than Mr. Yeltsin. But in the second round, when it counted they showed the wisdom and fortitude to vote against the greater of two evils. Mr. Yeltsin defeated

Had any of the more "natural results come true, the Clinton administration surely would port for Mr. Yeltsin's reforms. So it seems only decent to say that the proper policy toward Russia now is the policy Mr. Clinton's administration has shaped, with some bumps along the way, during the past four years: aid to Russia when it bolsters U.S. interests and helps secure democracy and prosperity there, clarity in delineating what is and is not acceptable in relations with neighbors and other nations.

'My pictures should be seen as impressions'

THE photographs you have taken in China over a period of 40 years don't really illustrate the violence or the repression of the regime. Doesn't that leave you open to criticism?

I didn't witness the main events that occurred in China, such as the Cultural Revolution. But who could have taken pictures of them anyway? No one, In the sixties, I wanted to go and take landscape photographs of the Huang Shan mountains, but I was furbidden to do so. I subsequently learnt that 1.5 million people had died of starvation in that region.

When you can't use your eyes, the ob has to be done by words instead. lence the countless books on Alaoism. I myself, in my carlier book on China [Instantanés De Voyage (Fravel Snaps), Arthaud, 1980], wrote about the millions of deaths caused by the regime. My captions also help to put things in perspective. Having said that, I don't believe in illustrating repression or listing stalistics. On the occasion of 20 years

of Maoism. Time magazine pub-

lished documents depicting prison-

the feel of the Cultural Revolution in one or two pictures.

Can you give me an example?

There's that photograph, taken in 1965, of a man at work: one realises he doesn't even have the needle and thread he needs to mend his tattered clothes. There's the picture of students doing hard labour, and the rather alarming group of youths carrying wooden guns, who foreshadow the Red Guards of the Cul-

llow much room for manaeuvre did the censors allow you?

It was a very subtle regime. The Hundred Flowers campaign, for example, encouraged intellectuals to express themselves so they could be more easily identified and later brought to heek.

I was accompanied by a "guardian angel". Some of my requests which I thought quite ordinary were | have when you can't see what goes turned down, whereas other appar- on behind closed doors? My pieaccepted. ers. But it didn't really add up to

For instance, I was authorised to | goes on away from the limelight. I

much. I think I've managed to get | be present at a dinner with Mao, and I was allowed to approach him without protocol getting in the way. But the most difficult thing of all was to get into schools or factories.

In big cities I suppose I could say t was quite easy for me to get lost. So I often got lost . . . I would find myself on my own, facing people who never put their hands in front of the lens. The Chinese never allow themselves to lose face. If they don't want to be photographed, they

of the constraints that were placed on you?

Photography always lies. Someody who once came to see me exclaimed, in front of a 1957 photo: "Oh, what wonderful joie de vivre!" But that was a time when the country was extremely poor and living in a straitlacket of repression.

What meaning do street scenes ently more contentious ones were | tures should be looked at as notes or impressions. I describe what

What I show in that 1957 photograph is that the people in the crowd aren't jostling each other though in the background there's a notice asking them not to spit on the

Could your book be described as a piece of informational

ew frozen seconds. They show a nandful of Chinese and an often Surrealist country. They amount to no more than a few trifling bits and pieces. I'm no ethnologist. I went round China and did a lot of walkread Chinese and I didn't talk to people. I'm not a specialist.

Is the book informational? I simply show that the country has changed a lot, that everything is superimposed on, or added to, something else. The predominant philosophy was once Mao's houghts; now it is money.

You seem to have harsher words to say about the excesses of the current situation than about the ravages of Maoism. What I'm most worried about are

the past 20 years. Nobody misses Maoism, and everyone enjoys a higher standard of living. But it has all taken place in a frighteningly brutal way. The country has simply chucked its age-old culture into the vastepaper basket.

Here again, there are much worse things happening than what I show. I know a couple where the wife is forced to prostitute herself, with her mother's consent, in order to pay the rent. And to think that amily values were once sacrosand in China . .

There's terrible corruption. There are no more bookshops, no free speech, no free press, no right to strike. There's no such thing as town-planning. The destitute rub shoulders with those who worship Manimon. And there are no checks and balances. It's very depressing-In fact I've lost any desire to visit

Le Monde

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Ecuadoran Populist Is Elected President

Gabriel Escobar in Guayaquil

BDALA BUCARAM, a populist whose message found a ready audience among Ecuador's poor and disenfranchised, exceeded even his supporters' most optimistic expectations on Sunday to win an overwhelming victory in a hard-fought presidential runoff election.

According to projections by the nation's leading broadcast net-works, Bucaram looks set to win about 54 percent of the vote against 45 percent for opposing candidate considered the frontshortly after the polls closed on athlete, Bucaram ran the 100 meters that of Duran Ballen. Sunday. Official results were not expected until later in the week.

The result represents a remarkable triumph for Bucaram, 44, the grandson of Lebanese immigrants and a controversial figure whose fiery oratory has won him converts among the masses, suspicion among the business classes and | though both promised to promote now the presidency on his third at- | fiscal responsibility and encourage tempt. Dismissed as a demagogue, foreign investment. But Bucaram's

ridiculed for his Chaplin-like mous- | platform in many ways echoed the tache and envied for his campaigning skills, the one-time Olympic track and field star mounted an impressive campaign that focused on wooing grassroots voters and, in the process, managed to sidetrack the establishment candidate's well-oiled campaign machine.
When he assumes office next

month, Bucaram will cut an uncommon figure among Latin American presidents and especially here in this Nevada-size nation of 11 million astride the equator - which over the last four years has been led by in the 1972 Munich Olympics, plays amail soccer/basketball court in his back yard.

Both Bucaram and Nebot, 49. criticized market-oriented, inflationfighting government policies that have been in place since 1992, even

old populism that periodically re-sounds through Latin America. At a time when Ecuador's Latin neighbors are struggling to address the needs of the poor while adhering to tight fiscal programs, Bucaram's tri-umph is bound to send a powerful message across the region.

The outgoing Duran Ballen government imposed unpopular constraints on public spending to combat a 60 percent inflation rate. and analysts here say Nebot's defeat may be interpreted as a rejection of that policy because Nebot was assoiled with il --- desnite his atti runner. Nebot conceded defeat dent Sixto Duran Ballen, An avid to differentiate his platform from In comments made on Sunday, soccer every day and even has a Bucaram seemed to anticipate

some of the questions that his victory raised, particularly in business circles. Several times he stressed his interest in attracting foreign investment and encouraging private enterprise. At the same time, he extended a hand to his political foes and those who did not vote for him. "I leave aside hatred and revenge | the new government."

. Ecuador needs all of us," he said, calling his victory "a triumph for the poor, a triumph for all." At another point, he urged the business com-munity to "maintain calm" while he put his government together.

AP in Quito adds: Bucaram, founder of the Roldosista Party, was clearly trying to reduce the divisiveness of a campaign in which each candidate tried to paint the other as evil - Bucaram had referred to Nebot as the "Antichrist." At campaign rallies, Bucaram sang, danced and screamed as he

be-damned preacher - except that his "sermons" were peppered with who is going to win the presidency," he told mesmerized crowds, calling himself "scourge of the oligarchy"

delivered speeches like a repent-or-

and the "force of the poor," Nebot, who leads the Social Christian Party, retained his critical edge in defeat, saying that Bu-caram's presidency would begin "an era of the lic."

And he warned: "If they don't solve the problems, then I will be leading a constructive opposition to EDITORIAL TT TAKES no great skill as a soothsayer to see grave prob-lems in Russia's future. Start

The End of

Communism

Russian

the Communists. Even three months ago, fev

totalitarian past.

Communist Gennady Zyuganov, 53 percent to 40 percent.



A FTER paying a smuggler \$1,000 to sneak him into the United States and working a minimum-wage job as a dishwasher in Florida, Rigoberto Mejia saw fortune finally turn his way when he arrived in this boom town preparing to host the Summer Olympics.

He landed a job as an asbestos re mover at a suburban construction site and stood to earn \$47,500 this year. But unfortunately for the 29year-old Mexican, the job was at a Veterans Administration hospital. which made him a target of a recent presidential order aimed at rooting out illegal alien workers from fed-

eral projects.

Caught with seven co-workers in a June 12 raid by Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents, Mejia was soon on his way back to Mexico. Summarily deported. A relatively rare misfortune in Atlanta.

As Atlanta has busied itself with

preparations for the Games, illegal mmigrants have been flooding in, and the government seems unable to stem the tide. Despite stepped-up raids on federal work sites, INS agents acknowledge their efforts are hardly impeding the underground labor force that continues to swell this booming metropolitan area of 3.3 million people.

Construction sites are everywhere, many of them employing workers that agents suspect are in the country illegally. But with the INS preoccupied by Olympics security preparations with other federal agencies and concentrating on enforcement of the executive order, officials say, many illegal aliens working at private-sector construction sites, restaurants, hotels and other service-industry businesses

are essentially getting a bye. Already a rapidly growing metro polis before the Olympic expansion started, the Atlanta area has be come a major stop on an illegal immigration pipeline that brings thousands of workers from the U.S.-Mexican border to the East Coast.

In February, the crash in Marvland of a rental truck crammed with Mexican and Guatemalan illegal immigrants led to the discovery of an operation that had also delivered human cargo to Atlanta, INS officials said. In March, an INS crackdown, Operation Mountain Passes, intercepted more than 1,200 illegal aliens who were being smuggled through Colorado, many of them en route to Southeastern states.

According to Joe Greene, the INS district director in Denver, "many of those heading for Georgia said they were going to find jobs in the Atlanta area in service industries because of the Olympics."

Recently, INS agents found 34 Mexican illegal immigrants locked in a horse trailer in a motel parking lot near Atlanta and arrested the American driver. The Mexicans, packed shoulder to shoulder in the 8-by-20foot trailer for three days without to jobs in north Georgia by an Arizona-based ring, INS officials said.

With 52 agents to cover for states - Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina and South Carolina - the INS in Atlanta has its hands full dealing with the truck and trailer loads of aliens that have been pour ing into the Southeast. "These loads have been coming in here like crazy this past year," said Russ Parry, ar

INS supervisory special agent. The influx of both legal and ille gal immigrants has begun to that illegal workers are taking jobs change the face of Atlanta in recent from Americans or receiving preferyears, especially in the northern suburbs where Asian and Latino

newcomers have congregated.
In recent months, the INS office in the city has been inundated by tips, many of them from U.S. construction workers, about suspected illegal aliens. The tipsters often complain

ence in overtime assignments, perhaps because employers are able to exploit them in ways that would not be possible with American workers.

Mexicans were bused to Dallas for repatriation across the U.S.-Mexican "Who's an illegal going to com-plain to?" said Charlie Key, an offiborder. The remaining three — a Peruvian, a Nicaraguan and a Honduran — were released pending a cial of the North Georgia Building and Construction Trades Council. hearing before an immigration judge.

Of the eight recently arrested, one

A cellmate, Victor Lopez, 22, said he and his asbestos co-workers at the VA hospital were given adequate protective gear, but that the job was still difficult and risky. American employees had come and gone, he said.

was freed when he was able to show legal status. Mejia and three other "They didn't want to work in that kind of business," Lopez said of the Americans. They would want more money because it's dangerous." Besides, he said, his bosses could "push harder on Hispanics" than on .

Tokyo Offers Unique Fishing

Kevin Sullivan in Tokyo

ISHING at the Ichigaya
Fish Center isn't much different from dropping a line
into the lobster tank at Safeway. Twenty tons of carp are stocked in five concrete tanks, tucked between a busy commuter train station and a traffic-choked

fishermen each pay \$6.50 admission, rent a pole, sit elbow to bow on milk crates and drop a ine into slimy green water.

Many fishermen might say this is like hunting bunnles in a cage. But for the anglers of Ichigaya, their version of urban fishing is

downtown street in the middle of Tokyo. Every day hundreds of uniquely suited to jam-packed,

"What other choice do we have?" said Jun Kobayashi, 35, who wore a tan business suit and shiny leather dress shoes as he sat on a crate one Saturday morning, dragged on a cigarette and waited for a carp to bite on

the little ball of fish meal on his hook. "This is better than

their in-depth study of funds and

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are sector leaders.

With 30 million people crammed into Tokyo, everything s built small. Cars have retractable side mirrors to fit narrow alleys; baby strollers are half the size of American models. Golfers practice on tiny netted-in rooftop driving ranges; admission at many public swimming pools is for 45 minutes; people pitch tents on a crowded lot near

the end of the runway at Haneda airport, barbecuing to the

JAPAN / The Washington Post 17

scream of jet engines. So a concrete fishing hole with fishermen lined up like so many birds on a wire makes sense, in a Tokyo sort of way. To Hitoshi Koga, it might as well be Montana, even though A Subway Runs Through It would make a lousy book title.

Koga came to Ichlgaya dressed for serious fishing in an ...L. Bean fishing vest with lots of Velcro and zippered pockets and a camouflage cap attached with a small cord, Gazing out from behind sunglasses, he conjured up the rugged feel of life in Maine (or at least outlet

shopping in Freeport).

Next to his folding fishing stool, Koga kept his tackle box. cigarettes, an empty coffee can and a big bag of chemical-green fish-meal bait. As the teacher and sometime writer dipped his pole into the five-foot-deep tank, the acreech of brakes signaled the arrival of another commuter train into busy Ichigaya station behind him. Up the concrete bank in front of him, traffic churned noisily as a stoplight turned green. A dead carp floated belly up near the end of his pole.

"I have loved fishing since I was a child," said Koga, 53. "But if I want to go fishing in real nature, it's a whole day's project. This place is 10 minutes on the

subway from my home." Koga, who fishes here almost every day, sald urban fishing has a "special place" in the fishing world. "It's very difficult fishing," he said. "The carp who live here are so used to being caught, they already have mar hooks in their mouths. They have that. They don't want to be fished, but they are fighting hunger. So there is a real psychological battle between me and the carp."

Ichigaya is near what was once the most of a shogun's castle. Carp, a sign of health and good fortune in Japanese tradition, have always been stocked in palace moats. The Imperial Palace's impressive moats are still filled with them, fat orange ones that some Ichigaya fishermen said they'd love to have a shot at hooking — if it wouldn't

land them in jail. Admission to Ichigaya is about \$6.50 an hour for men and about \$5.50 an hour for "women and junior high school students," who management believes are less likely to pressure

Fishermen are allowed to take home one carp an hour, although few do. Carp are greasy to begin with, and living in the thick water of Ichigaya makes them fairly poor eating. Mainly, people trade in fish for coupons for

more fishing time. Yasuhito Watanabe, 33, and his wife, Keiko, 24, fish at Ichigaya about four hours every years and loves It, and recently he started bringing his wife.

"It's fun when I catch fish, but it's not fun when I don't," she

A few minutes later, her rod jerked. She raised it high and it bent like the spine of a frightened cat, then went still. A carp had stolen her bait and slithered

Two hours on a milk crate. and she still hadn't caught a fish.



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Waltor Russell Mead

A NEW TIME FOR MEXICO By Carlos Fuentes by Marina Gutman Castaneda and the author Farrar Straus Giroux, 216 pp. \$22

E TURN on the television sets of the Mexican mind," writes Carlos Fuentes in A New Time For Mexico, "and every night we hear the same evening news. Top of the news: THE SPANISH HAVE CONQUERED MEXICO. Second item: THE GRINGOS STOLE HALF OUR TERRITORY. After that, murders, arson, kidnap pings and five-legged cows." The murders and five-legger

cows have been coming thicker than usual since the policies of former Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari collapsed ignominiously in 1994-95, Salinas had promised through the magic of NAFTA to turn Mexico into a First World country, Instead, as Fuentes makes clear, the Mexican scene remains a kind of Jurassle Park in habited by political dinosaurs and increasingly, by a new species Fuentes calls "drugosaurs" — figures who combine the corruption and impunity long associated with Mexico's terminally corrupt ruling party with the money and brutality associated with the drug trade.

The American establishment has fallen silent on the subjects o Mexico and Salinas. Nobody wants to admit that for the last six years the United States utterly misread its closest, most populous neighbor. The only people in the United States who want to talk about either Mexico or NAFTA today are people like Ross Perot and Pat Buchanan. The result is more than depressing. At the moment, the United States seems more likely to build a wall along the common border than to undertake any serious initiative to

For Mexico, of course, the collapse was more than an embarrassment; it was one of the most humiliating flascos in a painful national history. Once again it seemed that Mexico was doomed to fail while the United States went



As illegal immigrants cross the Rio Grande between Mexico and the US, Carlos Fuentes fears his country's 'new order' PHOTO BENGIBSON

orward from strength to strength. | open itself to market forces while Mexico's remony and political regime alike seemed unreformable und unworkable.

This is the background for Carles Fuentes's new book, and in it we can we a passionate and committed Mexican intellectual struggling with his country's unhappy present and uncertain future. Combining impressionistic accounts of the Mexi-

US seems more likely to build a wall along the border than to help Mexico grow

At the moment, the

can national soul with remarkably lucid summaries of Mexican history, snippets of literary autobiography, policy prescriptions and personal journals, A New Time For Mexico is a challenging book, but the North American reader will find few more helpful introductions to

Unfortunately, the policy-work bits of the book are not very successful. Fuentes has a list, but he doesn't have a plan. Mexico must become more democratic. It must

preserving, and even extending, a network of social benefits to protect and educate its poor. NAFTA must be reformed; the United States and Canada ought to be more generous to Mexico; Europe and the newly prosperous states of East Asia ought to be more involved. Mexican political parties must become more honest; they must agree on a fair and transparent system for future elections; fraud must be rooted out

of politics.

Well, yes, of course, But how? Fuentes is more impressive when he dissects the flawed psychology behind Mexico's repeated one-sided dashes for modernization in both the 19th and 20th centuries. For Salinas, like Porfirio Diaz a century ago, progress meant the Europeanzation or, most recently, the Yankification of Mexico. The psychological and emotional landscape of the Mexican countryside had to be exchanged for the values and perceptions of the Manchester those of the Harvard Business School today.

Mexico, says Fuentes, needs mother kind of modernization: one built on the celebration and affirmation of its national character and civilization. Rather than the auto-cratic, top-down reforms of a Salinas, Mexico needs decentralization and democratization This again seems indisputably

true - and exquisitely difficult to do. And it involves a revolution in Mexican thinking beyond anything Fuentes contemplates in this book.

For Fuentes and for much of Mexican elite opinion, Mexico confronts the Colossus of the North done. It is not just that many Mexican intellectuals dismiss such "backward" countries as Guatemala and Honduras in much the same way many United States intellectuals dismiss Mexico. It is that for Fuentes — and for his countrymen - even countries like Brazil, Chile and Argentina do not loom very large in the hemispheric political and economic environment.

In the early 1980s, Mexico refused to make common cause with fellow-debtor nations like Argentina and Brazil. Later in the 1980s it moved ahead with NAFTA, rejoicing that the other Latin American nations were excluded from this new, special relationship with the United States. By insisting on handling its relations with the United States on a bilateral basis, Mexico magnifies its weakness and its isolation. By imagining itself as isolated - so far from God, so close to the United States in Porfirio Diaz's amous phrase — Mexico achieves a kind of glamour and dignity, but also dooms itself to endless impotence and futility.

Many things will have to happen before Mexico's political system and its economy can fulfill the hopes of Mexico's people; one of those changes will have to involve a rediscovery and a celebration of Mexico's connections with its neighbors to the south. Until then, look for more murders and five-legged cows. Mexico is in the midst of a profound, possibly a violent

restructuring. We must all hope that it will be sane, patriotic and thoughtful humanists like Carlos Fuentes, rather than drugosaurs and dinosaurs, who shape Mexico's new order. And the United States can never forget School one hundred years ago, and that, should Mexico's problems dramatically worsen, no wall can be high enough, no river deep enough, to keep those problems out of our lives.

> Policy Institute at the New School for Social Research in New York.

Tests of Strength

Peter Franck

WHAT FALLS AWAY Vorton. 219 pp. \$22.50

FYOU ever made a wrong l career move, take heart: You didn't mess up as badly as Jon Chase. Newly appointed arts commissioner in Tilton, Nevada the middle-aged baby boomer arrives with his family to find a military town that is "100 per cent culture-dead." More worrisome than his tiny budget and unfinished office are the missile tests that rock their "temporary railer home close to the Nevada Test Site, the hottest spot in post-Cold War America. "Dad," asks his teenage son Scott, "this is the only job you could find?"

Yet Chase's professional challenge (to subvert the military's prescription of "patriotic art") is a snap compared with his family obligations. His mother, a stroke victim hallucinating wildly in a Texas nursing home, is inconsolable, as is his enfecbled father. Scott, suffering from Tourette's syndrome, is often be vond his reach. And though he is a loving husband to Peg, a ballerina turned performance artist, he loses her to her "sisters"

demonstrating at the Test Site At the center of Daugherty's second novel is the loneliness of the conscientious middle-aged breadwinner whose own parents are slipping away just as the needs of his family intensity. It's a flawed center, unfortunately, ecause, though the nursinghome vignettes are memorable the other characterizations are shadowy. Scott is just the sum of his symptoms and Peg bends with the needs of the storyline.

We are left with a broad-brush picture of an environmentally oisoned West, haunted by 'high-tech spirits" and run by crudely drawn brass hats.

Chase does a little sleuthing and there is a closing confront tion between demonstrators and viglantes but action writing is not Daugherty's forte.

By Tracy Daugherty

T 68, Derek Dawson is happy to learn new tricks — as long as he doesn't have to go too far to learn them. Recently retired, he writes a column for a local weekly paper, which involves both word-processing skills and using a computer for research. He is not afraid of technology, and has a Multimedia PC with Internet connection, but he knows that he needs "At my age I haven't the money or inclination to go to a company for

training, but I could do with brushing up on my word-processing and internet skills," Mr Dawson says. Recently, he enrolled in an online word-processing training course and is getting to grips with tabs and indents from the comfort of his

Online training services

into a virtual campus,

says Nicola Jones

can turn a home or office

kitchen table. He does exercises, which he e-mails back to his assigned tutor, and shares experiences with other students using a chatline. More and more initiatives by training providers in various countries are being designed to help computer users with an Internet connection take courses in a range of subjects. The Open University has been offering distance learning over the lateract for some time.

be paid for, some are free of charge.

All Internet users — and there were an estimated 38 million by mid-1995 - must be able to navigate around a computer. Courses to teach these skills are offered in various places on the Internet. Peritas, one of the largest training companies in the UK, is working with Microsoft to deliver online training courses over the nternet via Microsoft's new education service, Microsoft Online Institute (MOLI). Launched in January, the courses have attracted students

from all over the workl.

Study at Chez Vous university

The online service, which Peritas describes as a "virtual university campus", allows anyone to buy a self-paced learning course in a range of different software applications, in cluding those in the Microsoft Office software suite. When students register they receive a pack of materials and are assigned a Microsoft certified trainer, who guides them via e-mail and checks on weekly assignments offered as part of the course. Students can participate twice a day in a live, online disenssion with other enrolled students.

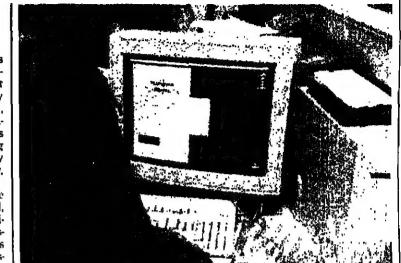
Paul Butler, director of Peritas Learning Technology, says: "A dassroom environment is undoubtedly the best place to learn because It provides interaction between students and their tutor. However, traditional classroom-based training can be inflexible because it de mands that students meet in one place at the same time. Distance Free local phone calls in the United learning is an alternative without the geographical and mobility barri-States have encouraged a proliferaers, yet it can provide positive interternet. While many courses have to | action and a managed learning plan."

Even competent computer users need to keep up with software developments but often find they can't fit n a course that takes them away from their business. Roger Tovell, director of Now Media, has improved his computer graphics skills by following the Complete Training Course, which is offered online by my Macintosh training company,

Face to Interface Ltd. "I've been on several face-to-face training courses," says Mr Tovell "and they are the ideal, but it's diffi cult to get out of the office. It's reassuring to know that there is someone who can answer my questions when I have a problem."

Song large companies are experi menting with courseware delivery across the Internet, John Newton, o NCR Education, emphasises that training course design is important Learners need to have some control and flexibility to determine the pace and nature of their own learning, and this should be inherent in the design. For example, he envisages staff on a course to improve their customer skills doing interactive computer training before they attend a traditional session, thereby cutting down the face-to-face element of the course from three days to one.

The potential offered by the Internet for distance learning is still hampered by the technology; even with high-speed modems, it can take a long time to download instructions and exercises from the Internet. which is why Peritas tends to send its material by post. Until there is an | called Gymnasia Virtuales offers onimprovement in communications line courses on how to design and technology for Internet services, I deliver an online course! America



DISTANCE LEARNING 19

llave modem, will not need to travel

this will continue to be a problem. Likewise, paying for courses will remain a thorny issue until security for credit card transactions over the Internet can be guaranteed.

In theory, anyone should be ableto do a training course from anywhere, but poor telecommunications will continue to limit access in many parts of the world, as will the cost of computers and fast modems needed to access the Internet.

But the potential is enormous, especially now it is becoming possible o use the Internet for live audio broadcasts, with video conferencing as another emerging technology.

Training over the Internet is becoming so popular in the United States and Canada that a Web site Online, a subscription service, is home to a range of free courses, in cluding "Home Fish Farming for Profit" and "Special Techniques in Cardiopulmonacy Bypass". In the case of the latter, it might be prudent for building surgeons to check out the author's credentials before patting the lessons into practice.

Nicola Jones is a troclance writer and director of Face to Interface Ltd.

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Still Not Out of the Red

Julia Watson

WAKING THE TEMPESTS Ordinary Life in the New Russia. By Eleanor Randolph Simon & Schuster, 448 pp. \$25

THE FIRST time I went through . customs at Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport, I was seven months pregnant. My husband went ahead with the suiteases and opened the first of them. Inside, pressed edge to edge, was row upon row of as barter and gifts for our four-year posting to the then Soviet Union. | comes across like a revamped and | tion. Even the new Russian woman The young military-uniformed inspector lifted his eyes and ran them over my inflated stonach, "5a," he observed to my husband, "yours don't work either." It was a splendid

introduction to Russian phlegm.

has as much to do, I suspect, with the passionate level of intensity at which life in both places is lived as with the critical roles they played in America's history. Eleanor Ran-dolph, who worked for The Washington Post in Russia from 1991 to 1993, has written the latest, an account as heart-wrenching and compelling as the country.

What is odd is that though the book is subtitled Ordinary Life In The New Russia, Russia doesn't Vestern condoms we had brought | seem to have changed much at all | prise to learn that abortion remains | writes, "became an unfriendly consince the Soviet Union dissalved. It | the most regular form of contracepsuddenly expensive restaurant can have eight or more. The new whose new menu disguises familiar dishes while the kitchen staff has merely switched toques.

Old babushkas still stand in line in the snow, but now they are wait- | call abuse or perhaps even rape if it Of all the postings to which ling not to buy, but to sell, Blat (influ-happened in Europe or America." American correspondents have ence), the crucial element under been sent in this century, only | the Soviets that bought luxuries | that's new), blames the Soviet sys-Vietnam and the Soviet Union/ such as cars, large apartments and tem, which turned men into obedissions with customary distrust. Mail and the London Evening Russia have inspired so many good medicine, has given way to lent and docide beings at work who land slowness to change. Who can I Standard from 1984-88.

ing like sand, is as hard to come by as the goods that previously were proffered as bribes. "Some Russians," says Randolph, "would ask an American to imagine waking one morning to find that a new automobile cost \$10 million and a lifetime savings of \$10,000 would not buy a pair of tennis shoes."

Sexual aids and erotica may openly available, but little has altered with respect to birth control. It's still the woman's job. With the most available option being the old Soviet condom - so thick it's the names have been changed." known as a "galosh" — it's no sur-

lgor Kon, a sexologist (at least

money. And money, its value shift- took their anger out on their women. "Either [the Russian male] must be a brute, be cruel, proving himself to be a tyrant, or he is nothing."
Randolph's small asides, too, are

throwbacks to the Soviet era; truckers unfreezing their oil sumps with flaming rags; hailing an ambulance as a taxi; cigarette butts on a hospital floor; the hospital ceiling that fell into her lap; suffering from "the Moscow Blues" (winter depression). The new Russia is like the disclaimer at the front of novels: "Only

"Democracy by 1995," Randolph cept in Russia. It was a word that increasingly meant lack of control or even weakness brought on by mud-Russian man's attitude to sex is dlers from Washington or Tokyo or similarly distressing. Many, Ran- the Common Market . . . however, dolph suggests, "often seemed to prefer a kind of sex that we would brate: Russia was establishing the foundations of a Western economy and elbowing its way into the inter-

national marketplace." Socially, the Russians are re- correspondent for the London Dally

blame them? They will get to their own version of democracy in their own fashion, at their own speed probably paying terribly for change along the way, as Russians always have. A more hopeful sign for ex Moscow observers comes in the atory Randolph tells of the large bunch of particularly unusual tulips she buys, only to discover during a stroll that they've clearly been cut from the herbaceous border surrounding the local war monument It could have happened any time since Genghis Khan. Russians make a great case for "nature not nurture"

By reporting directly from the people of Russia, Randolph has tal-lied with affection and potency the financial, physical and emotional impact of the struggle to set up a new nation for the second time in eight decades. Here the dry statistics of foreign oped analyses are fleshed out into real people.

Julia Watson was the Moscow

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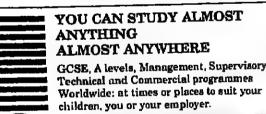
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General, and will contribute to the overall management and strategic direction of the organisation as a member

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experience of project work, including specifying, managing and reporting

distorrer and nollical judgement

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• knowledge of eastern Europe or CIS countries, and fluency in a language from the region

experience of working with the European Commission

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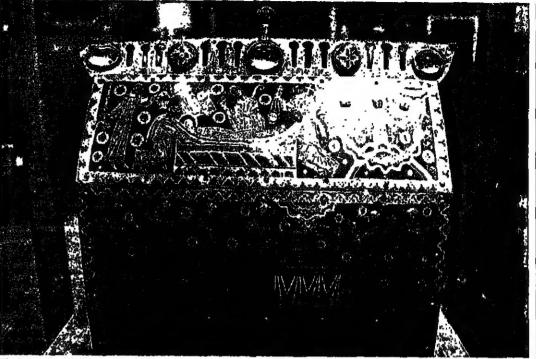
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The 12th century chasse, which once held St Thomas à Becket's bones

'Fiasco' as Becket casket sells for £3.8m

Dan Glaister

CAINT Thomas à Becket would have spun in his grave if he could have followed the chaos over the sale of his reliquary chest last week.

The Becket chasse, a 12th century enamel chest depicting the murder of Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury, and which once held some of his bones, was sold at auction for £3.8 million, a week after it could have been bought for the Victoria &

Albert museum for £1.8 million A London book dealer bidding for an anonymous buyer defeated

STHERE any reason why so

THE current Internet Living Swahili dictionary database

holds over 21,400 entries, of which

18 per cent begin with the letter M.

The vast majority of these M words

are nouns, the result of several con-

vergent grammatical patterns. One

predominant pattern is for animate

nouns — words about people or creatures — to hold the M prefix

(often Mu or Mw) in the singular. For example, a Taylor in Swahili would be called Mshonaji (shona is

the verb to sew), while a cook would

be Mpishi (pika means to cook).

The M prefix also denotes a person's group or place of origin. So a Christopher could be named

Micristo and a Scot would be Macot-landi. — Martin Benjamin, Mala-

THE most widespread language

which has many hundreds of descendants today. Nouns are

classified in classes, comparable to

genders in Indo-European. These

world and were marked by prefixes

and/or suffixes. It is a fair hypothe-

sis that the class referring to hu-

mans had M as a marker of a

singular, human noun. For a mod-

ern example, we have in a number

of languages muntu for person, bantu for people, in two separate but

related chases. - Neil Skinner.

Madison, Wisconsin, USA

classes have reference to the real

ly in Airica is Niger-Con

gali, Tanzania

many African leaders have

names beginning with M?

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

the National Heritage Memorial Fund, which dropped out at £3.6 million.

The chasse does not qualify for an export block as it has been in the country for less than 50 years. But in a surprise move after the sale, the National Heritage Secretary, Virginia Bottomley, said that the auctioneer's expor

ficence would be modified to exclude immediate export of the chasse - to allow time for "full reflection and consideration". David Barrie, director of the

National Art Collections Fund charity, said: "I'm delighted we've got another chance, but

WILL I be celebrating the end of the second millen-

nium on my own on December

F WE take into account the fact

that in 1752 the month of Septem

ber had 11 days missing, a more logical position would be to cele-

brate the end of the millennium on

January 11, 2001, Personally I in-

tend to celebrate on December 31.

1999, December 31, 2000 and January 11, 2001; and possibly even on January 11, 2000, just to be safe. — Alan Craig, Shadforth, Durham

INCE a millennium is an imagi-

nary unit of time — like all units

of time except days, lunar months,

and years - the questioner can

celebrate the end whenever he

likes. If he wishes to celebrate the

end of the second Christian millen-

nium, he should actually have cele

brated last year, on December 31

1995, since Christ was born in 6BC.

IS THERE any currency which

has a higher unit value than sterling? Which currency has the

lowest unit value, and how many

THERE are many currencles with

I a higher unit value than the

pound sterling: the dinar of Bahrain,

of them are there to the pound?

31, 2000?

it's becoming the biggest fineco since the Three Graces. Lord Rothschild, chairman of

the National Heritage Memorial Fund, said: "We made an oggressive bid but as a public lastitution we had to impose some discipline on ourselves."

The seller was the British Rail pension fund, which bought the chasse in 1979 for £500,000. It is understood that the V&A

and the NACF, together with the British Museum, where the chasse has been on show since 1979, tried to arrange a private sale, but were unable to raise the £1.8 million asking price.

- I know of no better deal if it is

quantity you are after! — Peter Gladman, Ramsgate, Kent

the official currency of the Socialist

turd, had a unit value 2.5 times that

of the pound sterling. I understand

that the turd has since declined in value due to the ubiquity of the

standard on which it is based, but it

still makes an attractive lump-sum

deposit. - Tim Adams, Noumea

Any answers?

Do CRIMINALS ever resemble their identikit pictures?

// HERE did the exclamation

V mark and question mark

originate, and why are they prac-tically universal irrespective of

the widely differing scripts for

various languages? — [Kelly,

Answers should be e-mailed to

Falmonth, Cornwall

Kuwait, Iraq, Jordan, Libya and weekly@guardian.co.uk, fexed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted

and Sudan — even the punt of Ire don Road, London EC1M 3HQ

Oman; the pound of Cyprus, Israel | to The Guardien Weekly, 75 Farring-

one tottering fan. land. As for lowest unit value: ac-

shop in the city centre showed it cording to today's Inter-bank rates was on the right side by dressing £1 will buy you 117,136 Turkish lira Colonel Sanders in a Tigers' strip and a Tigers' hat and scarf. This was too much for the rampaging fans of the victorious team. In an excess of high spirits they lifted the Colonel GUARDIAN readers will recall that in 1985 Steve Bell's "I(" ofon to their shoulders, carried him triumphantly to the banks of the fered up the little-known fact that river and heaved him in. The noise of the splash was drowned by the cheering. Fans exchanged high Seabirda' Republic of Rockall, the

FEATURES 25

The Colonel's curse

of Kentucky Fried Chicken. In Japan a lifesize clay model of the Colonel, portly and benign in a white suit, stands at the door of Kentucky Fried Chicken shops, welcoming customers with acms outstretched in a gesture of Southern hospitality. Colonel Sanders only discovered his potential in the autumn of his life. As the embodiment of the American dream who did not make his first million till be was in his 70s, he is an inspiration to namy a Japanese entrepreneur.

Baseball is another American phenomenon which has flourished in Japan. The Hanshin Tigers, sponsored by a private railway, is a team with strong local support in the Kobe-Osaka area. The Tigers' popularity has done them little good on the field, however. Not once in living memory had they won the league. Until, that is, one miraculous summer some years ago when a batter brought over from America for the season turned the Tigers' fortunes around.

Twice the size of most of his leam-nutes, the American batter caught the imagination of the Japanese nation. He appeared in advertisements for all sorts of commodities from training shoes to instant noodles. His exploits on imaginary fields became the subject of a strip cartoon. Even those who normally took little interest in baseball tuned in to the matches to watch the Tigers' batter hit the ball clean out of the stadium.

The Hanshin Tigers won the championship. Never had the streets of Osaka witnessed such scenes of jubilation. Beer flowed in the gutters. Grown men wept, "I'vewaited 50 years for this," sniffled

The Kentucky Fried Chicken

N CASE you didn't know, the late | fives and jumped in after him. Ken-Colonel Sanders was the founder | tucky Fried Chicken took the kidnapping of the Colonel in good part and made the most of the publicity.

The following year, despite the presence of the American batter, the Tigers reverted to their old form. The batter seemed to have other things on his mind and played with half the panache of the previous summer. Fans were disappointed. The year after that he went back to America and the Tigers did not win a match. Fans were in de-

At this point somebody remembered Colonel Sanders at the bot tom of the river. Could the Tigers poor performance he Colone Sanders' revenge? As a representative of the United States to which they owed so much, Colone's Sanders should perhaps not have sees treated so unceremoniously. The river was dredged for the

Colonel's body. He was brought to the bank in a sorry state. His soruce white suit was thick with algae. He had only one leg. Both arms were broken off at the shoulders like the Venus de Milo. There were sinister holes where his eyes had been. The fans gazed hopelessly at the wreck.

ERHAPS the Colonel might be appeased if he were incarnated in a new model, they thought. A brand new Colonel Sanders, made in America, was shipped to Japan at the tans' expense and delivered to a Shinto shrine in central Osaka, Betore an assembly of the Tigers' taithful the priest performed a ceremony to exorcise the Colonel's curse. The Colonel, now harmless, was bornealoft along the river bank where the procession halted to make a ritual apology. The staff of Kentucky Fried Chicken were lined up to welcome the Colonel home. The fans set him down as though he were made of glass and prayed that the exorcism would do the trick.

So did the Hanshin Tigers go or to win the league once more? Unfor tunately the rehabilitation of Colonel Sanders had no bearing whatsoever on the team's perfor mance. Fans have to content themselves with the memory of that one

A Country Diary

RIVER WEAR, Wolsingham: The pink flower spikes of butterbur have withered and given way to leaves of rhubarb proportions. This forest of waist-high foliage makes a perfect riverbank hide, so we sink into its shade and wait to see what turns up. A sandpiper arover the water on stiff wingbeats and settling amongst the small pools left by the retreating river on the far bank. Next, a pair of longtailed tits work their way through the birches overhead, hanging from the tips of the branches, searching for caterpillars. But they don't hold our attention for long.

A family of goosanders is drifting around the bend in the river; eleven brown and buff ducklings working their way between the wet boulders in the shallows, where darting shoals of minnows provide perfect | immigrants feeding side by side.

nursery training for goosander fishing skills. They are only metres away when the duck spots us. Pandemoniumi Frantic alarm calls as she stampedes her brood to the far side of the river, paddle-steaming across the surface on their stumpy, featherless wings. One by one they shoot the rapids like bobbing corks, regrouping around their mother ind paddling out of sight. A drowsy stillness descends in

the mid-morning heat. The only movement comes from a large brown moth, darting amongst the red campion flowers. When it settles for a few seconds it turns out to be a silver Y, here at least two months ahead of schedule. Over the last few days, a massive early influx of continental painted-lady butterflies has swept into Weardale with the warm weather, offering the unprecedented spectacle of spring-flying orange tips and these autumn

Grand masters

ter. Having developed their signature style and their vision of liness, in a 1951 study of the nude. At the world, the greatest artists are supposed to go on to transcend even that, in old age — if they hvethat long - they are expected to make works in a late style which, as much as it consummates their lifetime's endeavours, breaks its forms, going beyond what we have come to regard as the artist's personality.

But what was true of Titian is more often a pretty concept, founded in our own fears of mortality, our homning decline. There is such a thing as failure and disappointment, though it is something we don't like to think about. The art market doesn't like it much either, but that is another matter.

The Francis Bacon retrospective nt the Pompidou Centre la Paris until October 14, is but the latest and the largest to be held since the artist's retrospective Tate show in 1985. One feels, once more, the power and surprise of Bacon's work drain away as one moves through the exhibition. As well as becoming exhausted ourselves, we feel Bacon's own depletion.

There is a limit to how much confrontation, how much hysteria and "brutality of fact" one can take. Bacon's work palls by repetition, and by the insistence of his degraded, isolated, formented view of humanity, which anyway may not have been as deeply jelt as the Baron myth demands.

Given the actist's severely limited range of subjects, the unvarying size of his paintings, and the instantly recognisable manner in which he partted, an exhibition of getting on for 100 Bacons is more than enough.

Those lumps of chewed pink stuff dopping about on their mattresses or isolated on their office chairs: those squirming figures in their anonymous, frigid interiors, straining on their toilets, gagging as they lean over their designer basins; those livid, nominally human cruptions rearing up from expanses of dead carpet, or shadowed against lilac walls, grow more inert and less and less convincing as time goes on.

The rotating faces, always deformed by the same blisters of paint, the same blots, blobs and fleshy, arcing swerves and smears, the same vectors, the same imploding, inward collapse of the head, the same roined physiognomies be-come rote and cartoon-like. The daft arrows that point at nothing, the scrappy litter of Letraset, the pastel rubbed into the oil paint, the same rooms with their interior design done by Rothko and Newman, and the thrown paint and the glazed, grand-manner triptych format cannot disguise the essential emptiness of Bacon's later work.

But some of them I love. The sketched-in cars speeding down the highway and the palm tree in the distance behind the pointing dog in a painting from 1952. The Man In Blue, one of Bacon's businessmen who looks like Ronald Reagan. painted in 1954. The naked man disappearing between a translucent curtain into absolute blackness in Bacon's 1949 Study From The Bacon's Portrait Of George Dyer Human Body. The portraits of | Riding A Bicycle (1966)

ITERE is a might that as Isabel Rawsthorne done in 1965, artists get older they get bet | and | the | black-on-black | curtains behind a huge man dwarfed in darkhis best. Bacon was marvellous, witty and inventive, but forget all the Grand Guignol and the heavy, asphyxiated breathing, the tired cliches of humanity in extremis.

The later Bacon is what Bacon professed to hate: illustration. The work becomes suave, mannered, and rather silly. It seems to undo, rather than transcend the work, which arrived, almost fully formed, in the late 1940s. Bacon got better and better at less and less as he aged, and, like most painters, his work is served by a more limited kind of confrontation. At his worst, Bacon is meretri-

ious, repetitive and self-regarding, boorish parody of himself and of the world he created. Some of his work, finally, is plain daft; the ambulatory arse-on-a-plinth, its legs encased in a cricket pad and an angler's wader, or the scary monsters from Aeschylus's Orestela, the raw chicken swinging from the space-frame, flobbing goo into the room, and the Ignominious stilled replay, in 1988, of his bounting Studies For Figures At The Base Of A Crucifixion, painted in 1944. Why, one wonders, did he bother?

HHLE Bacon dramatised his encounter with the limits of his own limits. tion and ended up, pretty much. going through the motions, Lucian Frend still seems to be developing. struggling with the material world of things, and with his apprehension of the living person in front of him when he paints.

After the elephantine Bacon how, a concise survey of 40 of Freud's works comes as a relief. Seen en masse, Freud's paintings have often bored me, yet in the small rooms of the Abbot Hall Art Gallery in Kendal, until September 8. they slow down the act of looking and impress one with their concen-

The show ranges from a painting of a box of apples, done in 1939, to ings and eachings. Freud's work has developed from a wonderfully endearing, faux-nail, stilted figuration - a self-portrait as a wan young man with big ears, holding feather, a sick youth in a hospital hed, his face contorted in a bleary, warped delirium — to that of a painter who is often accused of see-





Latelan Freud's Pluto And The Bateman

ing human beings only as flesh. But Freud -- unlike Bacon -- does not. largely, delude himself with the fastasy that he can paint more than appearances. In his pointings one nds an increasing besitation, doubt and difficulty, perhaps even a growing humility towards his subjects and what he apprehends of them.

There are those who see some bing deeply unpleasant in Frend's work: the way in which the paint is pawed about, slathered around the forms, or congulated into little crusty patches, the way the brush — often a very small brush, even where he is painting the massive. sagging bulk of Big Sue on a large scale — pokes and mauls and dithers and slides over the form. Sue, the claimant's officer who made her first appearance at Freud's Whitechapel retrospective in 1993, has come to occupy the iconic place previously taken by

Leigh Bowery. Renoir, notoriously, said he painted with his prick, and there is a way we might imagine Freud painting with his fingertips, lingering tere and there, rubbing, mauling. abbling about on his subject's salow skin. But a painting is a painting, not a person, and the painter is making a painting, whatever else he

anxiety about the body, about where, exactly, it is in relation to him. Frend has a certain difficulty in negotiating the edge of forms. where they begin and end: he finds t difficult to get the brush to follow around a contour as it disappears from sight, to give his sitters actual volume; it seems he can't or won't paint what he cannot see. But in the act of painting, he at once loses and refinds his models, and himself. He paints their interminable patience. and perhaps, too, his own boredom: as he works away, beginning with

But painting everything he sees i of course, impossible.

As Frend's career has progressed, the paint has become more absence accounting more for the light in the room and how it talls on bodies, on forcheads, on the floor and the fattered chair, than on any supposed luminosity of inner character. He does not mistake the one for the other. Froud's encounters perceptually and psychologically are with surfaces, even when he is painting his closest friends, his lovers, his daughters, or even his grandchild at her mother's breast.

We are all Freudians now, and i s difficult not to wish to go beyond he skin, to locate the inner life both of the paintings, his subjects, and of the painter himself. Bacon gives us a frisson of some kind of psychodrama, but one which turns out to

REUD, on the other hand, does not try to trick the viewer into believing we can does not try to trick the viewer into believing we can see below the surface. He leaves us with the lesson that others are finally unknowable, however much their presence acts upon us. The viewpoints of his paintings — the artist's eye (and our own) seeming to hover omnipotently above his dressed and undressed models, cropped by the edges of the canvas - return us to ourselves, to our own gaze, while his subjects remain oblivious or indifferent to it.

Freud's subjects suffer us to come close, while maintaining their own mental space, their distance The eye of the viewer meanwhile goes on searching, rampaging, wanting to delve and to form a living relationship with what it sees, what it wants but can never have. This is both the pleasure and the shock of Freud's work, and finally what it describes, making it unsettling in a sion. In fact, not for the élite but the detail, working up to the whole. | way that Bucon rarely achieved.

Woman of the House

Michael Billington profiles the new head of Covent Garden

G ENISTA McINTOSH, executive director of the Royal National Theatre, has been appointed, at the age of 49, to take on the toughest job in British artistic life: running the Royal Opera House, She will succeed Jeremy Isaacs who retires in July 1997. She will have to supervise the two-year redevelopment of the building, oversee the opera and ballet companies during the nomadic years, ensure that Covent Garden re-opens on schedule in late 1999 and, not least, be responsible for a massive fund-raising programme. As she said, "I feel a bit stunned as well as thrilled to have got the job. But this is where the sober thinking has to begin."

Everyone who has worked with her pays glowing testament to her abilities. Richard Eyre, who as director of the National Theatre has worked with her since 1990, says: "I'm pleased for the Royal Opera House and and for myself. I wouldn't have been able to direct a third of the plays I have done without her as a partner. She's been an indisensable part of the equation." Terry Hands, for whom she worked as both casting director and planning controller at the Royal Shakespeare Company, concurs: "She's intelligent, well organised, considerate and has never tried to be a man in a man's world. She's not in that terrible post-Thatcherite line of

andbag-muggers." Jenny McIntosh (as she is better known) was born in the Hertfordshire village of Little Gaddesden to parents who gave her a good grounding in the arts. "I remember being taken to The Magic Flute when I was a child so that Papageno and Papagena became fixed in my imagination f was also taken when I was seven or eight to see Lea Sylphides and went on to see all the other classical ballets," she says.
"I've always believed it's vitally

important to take young people to plays, opera, ballet, even if they are sometimes beyond their comprehension. In my teens, I might have preferred the Beatles, but what you see as a child takes root in your imagina tion and re-emerges later."

The key to Jenny McIntosh lies in her old-fashioned belief in the idea of public service. She has always been keenly involved in politics (Harriet Harman and Paul Boateng are among her friends), sits on endless commit London branch of an organisation called Common Purpose, devoted to bringing together people from all walks of life to inform them of how society actually works.

She is well aware that tough times lie ahead. But she brings to her new job a love of opera and ballet, a fine track record as an administrator but, above all, a conviction that the arts are not just a pleasurable decoration on life but a force for social cohepart of the Common Purpose.

The fantastical sound of music

TELEVISION

Nancy Banks-Smith

JEFFREY BERNARD, that writer of beautiful suicide notes, was once the Spectator's TV critic. He lost the job on the nit-picketty grounds that he never watched any lelevision because he was always drunk. (Incidentally, he dismissed his own programme, Jeffrey Bernard: Reach for the Ground on Channel 4, as disappointing, so that'll do for me.)

Watching a TV programme is an absurd interruption to your flow, a hippo in your Limpopo. Richard Ingrams, who had no TV set at the time, once wrote a very readable column on the TV he could hear through a hotel wall. No, it is my opinion that Jeffrey Bernard probably did watch TV but assumed it was delirium tremens,

That is understandable. Take Jeremy Beadle. Come back here at I recommend the new series of

Beadle's About (LWT) on the lieve that's why they put the stars on grounds that it offers all the effects | the brandy.") of alcohol without the cirrhosis.

■ F17 wasn't (or the fact that Torn

the whole thing would almost cer-

There are only two characters in

the movie who are in the least bit in-

teresting, and neither one of them is

Tom Cruise. The plot is so compli-

cated that I gave up around halfway.

De Palma, however, has clearly

decided that he's going to have to

show us a thing or two and provides

at least three sequences which only

a first-class film-maker could have

Two of them are especially good,

n the manner of his Hitchcockian

best. The first has Cruise's Ethan

Hunt breaking into the CIA's multi-

guarded headquarters and, while

suspended in mid-air by a wire har-

ness, extricating the computer disc that will solve the US government's

major problem. It's all done in total

silence, with the nail-biting climax

provided by just a droplet of sweat

In the second classy acquence he

has his tongue firmly in his cheek,

traversing a train-top battle we've seen dozens of times before with fu-

rious abandon. No matter that it's

totally illogical and completely fan-

tastical. Just watch the orchestra-

tion of the camerawork and editing.

But what of the rest? Well, the

tle are Jon Voight as obstinate Jim Phelps and Vanessa Redgrave's

Max, roughly the kind of villainess

Voight pops up in a film like this

every other year or so and some-

how persuades us to treat his char-

acter with a modicum of respect,

while Redgrave gves Cruise the

most thorough acting lesson in their

Otherwise this is a sort of steady-

as you go performance, serviceable

but oddly characterless, and more

reliant on his newly exercised bi-

one extended scene together.

Lotte Lenya played in Doctor No.

from Hunt's brow.

tainly have been a bit of a bore.

Cruise engaged Brian De Palma to direct Mission: Impossible,

CINEMA

Derek Malcolm

Mission passable

Janet Elford must have considered herself a lucky woman. She had five children, a four square husband, a farm in Dorset and her rendition of I Believe in a Swanage panto had been warmly received. Peggy Archer would have felt a stab f jealousy. Then Beadle came coil-

ing down her apple tree. Arriving home from the panto at midnight, Janet found a smoking meteorite embedded in her lawn. The place was swathed with yellow tape saying Explosive Hazard and seethed with police, firemen, a TV crew and men from the Ministry of Defence taking radiation readings. Mulder and Scully were probably on

A shaggy sort of chap, who claimed to be an amateur ley line detective and full time Druid, said he had been cogitating up at the stone circle — he gestured vaguely n the wrong direction - when he saw the meteorite land. They were, he said, on a ley line which ran from Nairn in Scotland to Cognac in France t''ln fact some people be-

arse image. I totally agree with Vari-

ely who said that the muscles

But what can be do? There is no

wit in the movie, except in its direc-

tion, precious little romance - poor

Emmanuelle Béart is reduced to

looking sulkily succulent - and

above all, there is no real passion.

Unfortunately, for all De Palma's

brilliant pyrotechnics Mission: Im-

possible goes in one eye and out of

silly and forget about the whole

The last time I saw Walter Hill, h

was sitting with his wife at the Ex

celsior Hotel, Venice, sipping cap-

to me," he said when I hailed him,

"I'm just a director who sold out."

Admittedly, he hasn't made many

films like the first 48 Hours and

Southern Comfort in recent years,

but Wild Bill, which the National

seeming oblivion, shows that he

hasn't sold out entirely. It's a sum-

mation of the life and times of gun-

man Wild Bill Hickok that's far from

perfect but contains the kind of

maginative touches that, in both

The Long Riders and Geronimo

spoke of a man following in some

listinguished Western footsteps.

The film casts the excellent Jeff

Bridges as Hickok, a tearaway Ellen

Barkin as Calamity Jane and narra-

tor John Hurt as Wild Bill's English

friend. The format is deliberately

build up a portrait of the man as

half-hero, half-monster.

thing as soon as you've enjoyed it.

should have got separate billing.

woman, clutched her Tesco shopping bag and listened with admirable courtesy. (I suppose you get used to this sort of thing in Dorset.)

The Druid said he thought she had attracted the meteorite. Was she at all musical? Well, yes, actually she'd just been singing I Believe in panto. Would she sing it now? She laughed. He begged. So she sang. It was a small, sweet, true soprano and the Druid blew his

As If at a signal, a small allen of the classical variety known as a Gray rose from the meteorite. It was naked like a skinned rabbit and it whimmered like a child.

Janet's hand was clapped across her mouth. The Druid said: "I think this does require a certain amount of strength on your part." She began to talk to the little thing gently and with increasing kindliness,

"What do you want . . . how many are you . . . what are you doing here . do you want a cup of tea . . . do you understand me . . . please, talk o me . . . can you nod?" The studio audience were shrick-

ing with laughter. "I have been singing tonigh did you like my singing . . . do you want me to sing again?" It nodded and she sang: "I believe for everyone that goes astray someone will come to show the way . . . " The alien hummed along. 'You sing very well," said Janet encouragingly.

She sang: "The King of Love my shepherd is whose goodness failet never. I nothing lack if I am His and He is mine forever."

Munmy! At this point Beadle appeared with four arms and a head like a peanut, lanet's shock and distress were nalpable: "Please, what is this?

What's going on, please?" This woman is a heroine. Lions, as Wodehouse said, could take her correspondence course. They should dedicate a stained glass window to her in the parish church, clutching her Tesco bag, singing to comfort a lost alien. There could be a rat with

whiskers in the bottom corner. "A dastardly creature whose name will not reveal to you." Sister Wendy, failing to forgive the restorer of The Book of Kells. Her charming new series. Sister Wendy's Story of Painting (BBC1), was Indicrously placed at 4.15pm on Sunday, competing with Bugs Bunny All-American Hero. Shift that sister.

> But Ken Campbell also has the ability to summon up lost worlds. His account of playing the third act detective-inspector

Even funnier is his account of playing Angus in a Method-production of Macbeth and amazing the director by his researches and conclusion that the character was "a smelly dwarf" rudely ignored by the surrounding thanes.

But Campbell is just as good when he strays outside the theatre and describes his experiences in transcendental meditation. He tells how he was given his mantra — which he at first assumed was his mat — and became so obsessed with it that he repeated the magic word, bonga, all the way to and right through an interview with Giles Havergal at the Palace Theatre,

realises they are incompatible with his secret ambition. "The last thing a great writer needs," he cannily tells us, "is the company of nice people.

The hysterical first half had people crying into their interval drinks. The second half, with its account of the formation of the Science Fiction Theatre of Liverpool, is weirder if marginally less funny; though one involving an endorsement of the company for grant-getting pur-poses by our own Martin Walker, is a wonderful illustration of the guilibility of fund-giving bodies.

hours and proves you can make great theatre out of tall tales

It belps that, with his hairless donie, extravagant eyebrows and necosting snicker, he looks like a phallic Eastern statue on one side and a Ken Dodd icon on the other. His act has both an anarchic rudeness and something of

This show proves Campbell is a superb monologuist and at the end you emerge, in the manner Talking Loud Saying Nothing, is of Coleridge's wedding-guest "like



High flyer . . . Tom Cruise as Ethan Hunt breaking into the CIA's dquarters in Brian De Palma's passionless Mission: Impossible

watchers to piece it together for wilderness; chased by hired guns hemselves, though his own view of and succoured by an Indian outcast lickok, as a man of his rough and ough times beginning to realise hat it's all gone wrong somewhere, s perfectly clear.

The film could never be popular these days when people want a story from A to Z and no mucking about, but it is distinguished by the extraordinary production design of Joseph Nemec III, the glowing camera work from Lloyd Ahern, the whole-hearted acting and the ro- | Depp as William Blake, an accounmantic feeling Hill brings to his tant who travels West from Cleve-

This is myth often made to look astoundingly real, but cut up into lit- in a town called Machine. tle pieces like a cinematic jigsaw ceps than his dreamboat-with-a-nice | puzzle. It is almost as if Hill asks | and he ends up wandering the | appropriate to Jarmusch himself.

It's a very American parable mance. This is the mythic West as Hill sees it - a combination of grit, dirt, blood and broken hopes.

There's absolutely nothing in Jim Jarmusch's louche and lengthy Dead Man to compare with the emotions that beaver away underneath Wild Bill. But pretension there certainly is. This has Johnny land, shrinking from the roughnecks on the train, on the promise of a job

When he arrives, the job's gone

and succoured by an Indian outcast called Nobody (Gary Farmer). There's Robert Mitchum as the

man who promised him work and then yows to kill him after Blake has shot his son in self-protection. There violence leading to the death of ro- is John Hurt again, Gabriel Byrne and even Iggy Pop as a transvestite.

Robby Muller's superb black and white camerawork often saves the situation, in which Jarmusch casts Blake as a kind of wandering lost soul and the West as the loneliest must God-forsaken place on earth, full of psychotics, cannibals, racists and plunderers. Only Nobody has any faith, and in the end prepares Blake for "the great journey" (death) with infinite care.

Ultimately, though, Nobody's nickname with his tribe, which is

Tall tales of a manic gnome

THEATRE

Michael Billington

EN CAMPBELL is the Ancient Mariner of British theatre. He may not have the long grey beard of Coleridge's original but he certainly has the 'glittering eye" and the ability to spin a great tale. But where the poetic fabulist left his hearer a andder and a wiser man, Campbell leaves his audience both happier and weak with laughter.

In his solo show Theatre Stories at London's Royal Court, he focuses on his life in theatre. Best of all is his account of an

elaborate houx whereby, after the RSC's success with Nicholas Nickleby, he sent out letters to the great and good, purportedly from Trovor Nunn, announcing that it would in future become the Royal Dickens Company. Like all the great houses, it had both a prankish malice and just enough plausibility to hoodwink

in sixties rep thrillers evokes an era of vanished tat.

But Campbell gives up on the deeply caring TM coves when he

Campbell holds the stage for 2%

nanic Ilford gnome. But it is sigulficant that his main props are a the other Ken's surreal wildness.

one that hath been stunned".

King of

comedy

Buster Keaton: Cut to the Chase

HE career of Buster Keaton

there are no second acts in Ameri-

can lives. Everything for which he is

known was achieved before he was

35. Fortunately, and unlike Fitzger-

ald, the alcoholic wilderness years that followed the brief period of

high good fortune, ended in the

restoration of his reputation and his

recognition as one of the greatest

artists of the century. A few months

before his death in 1966 at the age

of 70, he received the longest ova-

tion ever accorded anyone at the

Keaton's movies are about a very

ordinary young man of great resolu-

tion surviving in a world in which

people (rival suitors, criminals, guer-rillas) and things (collapsing houses,

sinking boats, runaway trains) seem

to be conspiring against him. As Mar-

ion Meade makes clear in her

painstaking biography, Keaton was

a comic genius who distilled his

doubts and miseries into films that

are as bilarious as they are beauti-

Born in 1895 to a pair of feckless

music hall emertainers, Joseph

Venice Film Festival.

fully crafted.

is a perfect illustration of

Scott Fitzgerald's claim that

Philip French

by Marion Meade

Bloomsbury 440pp £20

BARCELONA'S most rumpled and civilised detective, the diverting Pepe Carvalho, takes another atmospheric excursion, moving smoothly between social strata as the city limbers up for the Olympics. Montalban's eye is that of a promiscuous staneur, his story an afterthought - Barcelona FC's new British centre-forward is receiving fancily penned death threats — its outcome of less concern than the detours on offer. Montalban pronounces on everything from culinary history to paella, the Arabisation of city crime, and abstruse soccer tactics (3R + 3A + M = 6ARM; quite). A rich Catalan stew, shot through with alcoholic surrealism.

Kara's Game, by Gordon Stevens (HarperCollins, £14.99)

SAS man Finn is rescued in a Bosnian minefield by brave refugee Kara, in this earnest blockbuster strong on moral outrage and field research. Finn gives her a lesson in political reality: nobody'll bail out Bosnia. So Kara turns international terrorist, with Finn her apparent nemesis. Stevens's sympathy is for the players regardless of sides — the real villains in his book are the politicians. Anger at their indifference comes over as more real than the tenuous narrative, which overplays coincidence.

Hide and Seek, by James Patterson (HerperCollins,

PATTERSON'S chunky reputa-tion cludes me. To go by this scratchy outing, the author, who doubles as US chairman of J Walter Thompson, produces scrappy, sub-Stephen King material with silly English interludes that have Brits eating scrumbled eggs with mashed potato. His housewife heroine turned singing superstor boasts a laughably dumb/cute line in breathless interior narrative: "I could never have imagined being where I am right now, in prison in New York," This, thanks to an unfortunate habit of killing or nearly offing husbands - one a psychopathic former striker for Liverpool FC. Tosherama. Come back Sidney Sheldon, all is lorgiven.

Hoffmen's Hunger, by Leon de Winter (André Deutsch, £15.99)

G LOOMY Hoffman ents up all his Spinoza between fashionable bulimia binges and suffers an existential crisis while ruminating on the pointlessness of Dutch diplo matic life in Prague (quite) and his failures as husband and father, sexless marriage, dead daughter. Intel-

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Poppies in Pandora's box

Oplum: A History Simon & Schuster 381pp £17.99

PIUM, according to Martin Booth, is "evil"; it possesses "a throne" from which the property of he displaced (by heroin); and it apparently "orchestrated British expansion into China". Not bad for a

plant extract, one might say. Booth's text is peppered with personifications of this type: it also mentions, mostly with approval, Nixon's "War on Drugs" - a phrase which never fails to conjure up in my mind the vision of someone stamping on a packet of drugs and acreaming, "Take that, you scum!" Yet personification of drugs is not the sole preserve of those disposed against them. Wasn't It De Quincey. the godiather of the modern druggie, who described opium as "just,

Some might argue that all this is

A too human photographer

T'HOUGH André Kertész's

twenties and thirties are now

legendary, the way he tells his

understanding writes Gaby Wood. In 1939, he was in New

York, on the brink of the war the

was to prevent his return to

France, He took some pho-

lisher. "You are too human,

Kertesz," was the respons

sentimentalist". Born in

Hungary in 1894, Kertész

he had seen drawings do in

magazines. His first camera

became for him "a little note-

graphed his neighbours, his

barren native countryside; he

When he arrived in Paris in

took his comera to the trenches.

book, a sketchbook". He photo-

tographs to an American pub-

"make it brutal." He had always

been, by his own admission, "a

wanted to do with a camera what

own story is as one of great mis-

photographs of Paris in the

his failure to grasp the full ramifica-tions of this simple fact — he has none the less provided the evidence for his readers to do so.

alkaloids had been widely used for evidence of the ritual use of opium in neolithic tombs; opium was found in an Egyptian tomb dating from the 15th century BC; in the Therapeutic Papyrus of Thebes, dated 1552 BC, a paregoric of oplum is recommended o soothe fractious children.

penthe" was almost certainly opium, and so, perhaps, was the "soma" of

contexts. He was also responsible for the coinage "laudanum", which he applied to opium pills. Thomas Sydenham, in the 1660s, first dissolved opium in alcohol: the form in which it was most commonly used right up until this century. Sydenham wrote that "Medicine

would be a cripple without [opium]: and whosoever understand it well, will do more with it alone than he could well hope to do from any single medicine". This kind of laudatory remark (a suitable term since "laudanum" derives from the Latin lauders - to praise), is common in the history of opium. But, alongside the medical employment of oplum as a panacea and anaesthetic, came its use for recreational purposes, and with it the threat of physical

Booth never really gets to grips with the true nature of physical habituation to opiates: he sees addiction itself as fatal - a medical nonsense. This is a shame, since in many other respects this is an exemplary history. He carefully aurveys the widespread use of opium in

phine and heroin. Both were intially regarded as possible cures for oplum addiction; both turned out to be far more addictive.

Booth is fair-minded about the

ing for dublous foreign policy ends. But the Pandora's Box of opiate

Sensibility on a grand tour

RAVEL BOOKS Veronica Horwell

∧ NATOMY Of Restlessness is the very last of Bruce Chatwin: 205 pages, of which 12 are his hibliography (the list complete to a 1978 piece in the Radio Times) and 10 a letter on nomads he sent to publisher Tom Maschler, which ater became The Songlines. Chatwin is selling us people: the pa-trician wanderer Wilfred Thesiger; John Pawson, the austere architect who scoured Chatwin's bedsitter; though the big pitch is for Chatwin himself. This is Chatwin the blond flirt in the Jane Bown photograph, tossing his boots by their laces over his shoulder and looking back. using travel as a come-on. Do you want me? Or do you want to be me? When he does switch off the magnetism, a sense of place shines through brilliantly: ". . . gardeners sluicing water from leather skins, lovingly, on rows of blue-green onions." That's Timbuktu for Vogue, You might assume this to be

British behaviour - that we lost an empire and gained The Travellers' Bookshop, but consider Flaubert In Egypt, with Gustave up the Nile in 1849, wickedly subtitled by its editor Francis Steegmuller "a sensibility on tour". It's all present already, right down to the textile descriptions like a juiced-up World of Interiors — "light-coloured robes hang loose in the hot wind"; the proprietorship of the right kind of recherché information - "the clicking sound made by tarantulas" - and the bisexual curiosity. Flaubert is, sensibility of his times - he has a | Shade, by Peter Lavi, Sinclairlittle ecstasy about squashing bedbugs on the mud walls of his whore's house and coolly diagnoses her "one upper incisor, right, which is beginning to go bad".

Peter Levi calls his A Bottle In The Shade a "small and necessarily elderly adventure" through the Western Peloponnese. It reads quietly - though the poetry is always warm as brick walls at sundown but it is like life. He loves what is for itself alone — the beautiful pink

stripes of the electricity cooling towers which have been an Arcadian landmark nearly 30 years; he layers memory and present, staying at Patrick Leigh Fermor's house tthey serve "Byzantine-coloured mashed potatoes... like the greenrellow face of a martyr") and look ng up the mountain to where the ashes of Chatwin the fabulist rest in a small monastery in the middle of

Women call a failure a failure and not an odyssey, and so are much better company on the road. After Desert Places, you might say o Robyn Davidson that since the splat of human shit frets her, she should perhaps not have journeyed with Rajasthan's Rabari nomads — even left India off the itinerary. But he honesty invigorates. She isn't pitch ing for nomadism, she just has temporary membership of a tribe from which she can always slope off for a shower in a dak bungalow.

Chatwin wrote "What am I doing nere?": Davidson says "What am doing here?", unconfident that travel-writing gives her any right to intrude — when she's gnawed by bed bugs there is no Flaubertian self-congratulation, And then she describes one of those attacks of travel: "For the first time in your life you see them . . . you reach . . . to within 10 yards before they float off lifting up in a blaze of flamingo red It's not the same a seeing them in a zoo." Don't you dare stop writing.

Anatomy of Restleseness, by Bruce Chatwin, Jonathan Cape, £15.99; Flaubert in Egypt, by Gustave Flauvery frankly, a sex tourist with the | bert, Penguin, £6.99; A Bottle in the Stevenson, £17.99: Desert Places, by Robyn Davidson, Viking, £18

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the movies as a sort of trainee with | father, and his increasingly aberrant the comedian Fatty Arbuckle. But he continued to support his hopeless family throughout their lives.

Frank Keaton had a traumatic childhood that left him physically and mentally bruised. He received his Except for a few months in nickname "Buster" when at the age France at the end of the first world of 18 months he survived a fall war, Buster was absorbed in filmdownstairs at a theatrical lodging house. His brilliance as a clown made him the family meal ticket. From the age of four, he became the centre of an act that turned on his drunken, brutal father throwing him around the stage and often into

The on-stage violence and the offstage neglect of their son's education led to a running battle between the Keatons and the NSPCC, which for a while had them banned from New York. Eventually, Buster broke with his exploitative parents to join a Broadway revue and then to enter

behaviour during the 1930s contributed to his misfortunes. Low points included a disastrous second marriage to a psychotic nurse, bouts of DT's and visits to detox centres, including a period of confine ment in a straitjacket. But a third, happy marriage began in 1940, and In presenting the last 35 years in greater detail than any previous biographer has, Meade brings out the truly heroic side of Keaton. In the face of neglect and humiliation, he never stopped working including ap-pearances in Sunset Boulevard and Limelight (his only collaboration with Chapila, who paid him a miserly \$1,500 for three weeks' work).

The story ends with the Venice

Mimi's mother, Leah, accom-

olishes the same precarious memo-

ryless existence not through sex

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It is also true that certain drugs, when mixed with certain minds and placed in certain situations, can produce quite appalling results. And it is to Booth's credit that - despite

The oplum poppy (Papaver som-niferum) was first classified by Linnaeus in 1753, but its narcotic many millennia before that. There is

The substance Homer calls "ne-

It was Paracelsus, in the 16th cen-"merely" a question of semantics. tury, who first crystallised and But meanings, in discussions of in-

1925 he spent his days in a café

in Montparnasse and "only went

home to sleep". His photograph

(accompanied by his own words)

in Kertész On Kertész (Abbeville

£25) present the inhabitants of

Chagall with his wife, happy and mad; Mondrian in his anal

apartment; Colette with her cat;

Alexander Calder playing with

dancers, flappers and gentlemen

He heard others say his photos

seemed "to come more out of a

Reality, though, was some-

thing Kertész knew how to mould. When miserable in New

York he invented titles to fit:

Tulip". Towards the end of his

life he told an interviewer: "I am

always saying that the best photo-

graphs are those I never took."

"Lost Cloud", "Melancholic

dream than out of reality".

his toys; tramps, nightclub

single family in an album -

pre-war Paris as if they were all a

19th century Britain, and nails down the reasons for the comparative ease with which the general populace were weaned from it (changing patterns of drug use, and the invention of other, cheaper analgesics such as aspirin). He gives a detailed and convincing explanation for the expansion of the opium trade from British India to China, and carefully unmasks the true villains of the piece: the trading houses such as Jardine Matheson, which rose on the back of the opium trade to become the great hongs of Hong Kong.

Booth also reveals the ironic realities underlying the synthesis from opium of the "wonder drugs" mor-

history of prohibition. He also plumbs the moral depths of the CIA's involvement in the heroin trade, aiding and abetting traffick-

prohibition and interdiction policies will disgorge far more, in the way of nightmares, than the beautiful dreams and visions that the drug

making from 1917 to 1929. With the coming of sound, Buster's style of silent miming was no longer in demand. He was also nearly broke due to the Wall Street Crash and the extravagance of his wife, Natalie, one of the fabulous Talmadge sisters, who had been raised by their ambitious mother to despise and exploit men. She achieved immortality by appearing in Keaton's masterpiece Our Hospitality (1923). But having denied Keaton sex for some years, eventually took him for everything he had in an acrimonious divorce.

Keaton was no model husband or

Lawn cemetery, a rosary in one pocket, a deck of cards in the other.

Three shattered lives

Laura Tennant

The Dream Mistress by Jenny Diski Veidenfeld & Nicholson 86pp £15.99

JENNY DISKI relishes paradox and her new sovel, The Dream Mistress, is full of it: the aphrodisiac power of the scent of another vonian on a lover, the terrible and inforescen consequences of a mracle: why the photograph of a younger self, far from confirming a personal history, serves to sever the viewer from it. Dajunction, indeed,

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is the key word in the lives of her three, loosely connected female characters, all of whom live in a permanent present tense which admits of no past or future.

The Dream Mistress is an interesting mixture of surrealism and sound psychological premise. Mimi is abandoned by her father and then her mother as a small girl and, never having been offered love, is unable to feel it. Her relationships come to an end because she doesn't believe in them in the first place, thus fulfilling her own prophecy that nothing can last and the future is always uncertain.

Her inability to remember her dreams is an index of her incapacity. to build a self which exists in time as well as space. Instead of narrative, there is atmosphere: either the terrifying void of her childhood nightmares, or the Buddhist disengagement, of her adulthood. Miml's impressive and amoral sexuality is the instant gratification of a life lived instant by instant.

but through religion. Although Jewish by birth, after the trauma of her husband's departure she flings herself into Catholicism. Her heretical faith, however, is not in God but in his absence, a space she fills moment by moment by continually calling the divinity into life through the ulterance of His name in prayer. Just once, she unwittingly summons a real presence which mysteriously raves the life of an asthmatic child.

Bella is the book's most shadowy face is destroyed by an explosion she is adopted by a man who somehow divines in her shattered features his Platonic missing twin.

Bella, once again robbed of past and future by her horrific injuries, is installed by her devoted lover in a white-walled, mirrorless house, where she spends her days waiting for his evening arrival. His adoration is an exemplar of the love so absent from the rest of the book — Freepost WE76, Manchester M1 1JB U.K.

Future without context the effrontery of the Affront are the Dan Glafster Ahlforgetlt Tendency, not much

by lain M Banks

Orbit 451pp £15.99

dispatched to report on the author's

habitat. But the "M" gets in the way.

writer of macabre, witty, slightly

skewed contemporary fiction. His

debut, The Wasp Factory, was, as

fresh, sophisticated voice.

attached to him Banks.

This is the fourth of Banks's Cul-

ture series. For him, the Culture is a

vast playground where he can in-

dulge his more far-fetched fantasies.

But like the best playground games.

There is screaming and laughter

plenty in Banks's Culture. The bad-

dies in Excession are the Affront, a

nasty, tentacled bunch whose idea

of fun is to play squash with a spe-

citlly bred species of squirming ani-

mal that screams every time it is hit.

there is a serious moral behind the

screaming and the laughter.

Plain Iain Banks is a respected

mass of the Culture. The Culture is a pretty advanced society that knows it and is happily THERE is a problem with Excessmug about it. In this universe, the sion, the new "Culture" novel living is easy and the humans are in from Iain M Banks, Remove the letcontrol. Well, the humans think er "M" from the author's name and they are in control, but the real this book would be at the centre of brains behind the Culture are the some sort of a stir: respectful Minds, vast spaceships with a nice reviews in the books pages, exline in laconic understatement. tended interviews, profile writers

help in times of crisis, and the main

Without a trace of embarrass ment, hulking great warships carry names such as The Jaundiced Outlook, Fate Amenable To Change Honest Mistake, Attitude Adjuster (bristling with weapons and a baenemy), Shoot Them Later and Anticipation Of A New Lover's Arrival.

they say in the blurbs, acclaimed. The follow-ups garnered good notices and he was established as a The snugness is shattered by the arrival of the Excession of the title. But this is not lain Banks. This is The Excession is what Banks terms lain M Banks. Same person but a very different proposition. Jain M an Outside Context Problem. An OCP runs something like this: you Banks writes science fiction, and are an efficiently run civilisation SP, with its trashy spaceship covers and the trains run on time, when on and its lurch into hyperreality, is not the horizon there appears an inexproper" writing. It is not the sort of plicable entity, bigger and better activity a serious writer should pur-sue. And serious writer is the label than anything you could hav dreamt of Uh-oh.

The preoccupations of Banks's science fiction are earthly ones. The Special Circumstances section of the Culture, unsurprisingly, is involved in betraying everything the society stands for, it is with only mild surprise that the reader discovers that at least one of the beings involved in the nevel's only love scene is not human, nor even humanoid Banks is a great player of games; his aliens are very human. It comes as a relief to discover that in his sparkling future oliens, androids and humans still get drunk, spit on For extra fun, the eyes are gauged the floor, and posse out before service. Ranged against range of profanities. the floor, and possess a compelling

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riting articles and stories, journalism, radio, TV, the

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OWADAYS it is common practice for environmentalpaign with what are known as "flagship" species. By reducing complex scientific issues to a simpler, more emotionally charged tale of one familiar, eye-catching animal, like an eagle or big carnivore, campaigners are able to generate publicity and open purse strings far more effectively.

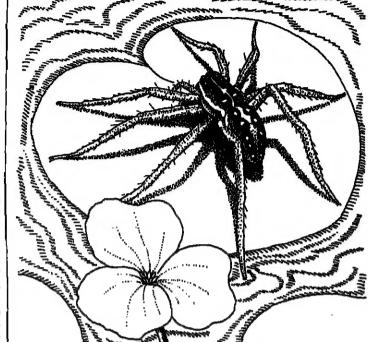
One might think, however, that

when members of Suffolk Wildlife Trust selected Dolomedes plantarius as their "Bagship" they made an unusual choice. For, while it is a tascinating predator, it is also Britain's largest spider and the stuff of many arachnophobes' worst nightmare. Although it is possibly in danger of extinction throughout fairoge, some ungenerous souls thought the great raft spider far too unattractive to warrant special concern. Unfortunately, they lost sight of the more important picture, which was the wonderful wetland site the solder in-

Redgrave and Lopham Fen, in the county of Suffolk, is one of only two sites in Britain where Dolomedes occurs. This alone makes the place of national importance, but Redgrave has been host to another 120 rare wetland animals. A further important feature is the way the ground water stored in chalk aquifers rises upward under pressure to the fen surface. Such spring-fed habitats support an unusual community of plants.

When I visited recently I could sense something of Redgrave's special status. Electric blue damselflies, hixuriating in the hothouse conditions created by newly mown rides. danced ahead of me. Yet, as I moved so they jerked away just out of reach, as if invisible threads choreographed their whole eccentric performance. Sedge warblers dashed between tall beits of vegetation, and on a small patch of open water I was more typical. The scheme decame upon a single raft spider, its vised for Redgrave's restoration in came upon a single raft spider, its vised for Redgrave's restoration in vulnerable spider now depends on own aggressive queen sortie 10 Qh5. Nxc6 Rxf2+ 3 Kxf2 Rd2+ 4 Kg1 Qe1+ forelimbs resting on the pool's volves a range of government this unique, international alliance.

9 g3 Nxc3 10 bxc3 Qg4 11 5 Rf1 Qxg3+ and mates.



vibrations made by approaching prey. Surrounding its miniature aquatic world was the soporitic puri of turtle doves, broken occasionally by sharp anorts as the reserve' ponies stopped their quiet grazing to shake themselves free of flies.

Although all seemed perfect or this sunny afternoon, both the reserve and its famous spider have been under slege since the 1950s. when a regional water company sank a borehole and started drawing off supplies for local household Meantime the river running through Redgrave was also deep-dredged The impact of these changes was to lower the water-table and cause

Redgrave gradually to dry out. If the use of Dolomedes as a flagship species didn't achieve the usual expression of public sympathy, then at least one aspect of the campaign Chess Leonard Barden

Fide match taking place in Elista as a "bogus world championship", but

For all its problems, the International Chess Federation (Fide) has the authority which comes from its 70 years and a membership of more than 100 nations. And, despite Short's views, Karpov's match with least because both are survivors of a three-year cycle of eliminators.

Meanwhile Garry Kasparov's rival Professional Chess Association (PCA), which organised his title defences against Short in 1993 and Anand in 1995, has lost its aponsor Intel and is unlikely to acquire an-

Kasparov is unbeaten in match play, but if the PCA can no longer afford to run elimination contests or title matches, then it, too, must be regarded as bogus and his status will increasingly depend on his No 1 spot in the world rankings. Even that will be undermined in the next few weeks if Karpov continues to outscore Kamsky as clearly as he nas done in their early games.

There is still talk of a \$5 million. 100-player knock-out world championship in December 1996, financed by Japan or Vietnam, If, to counter objections, the competition shrinks to 16 or 32 players and allowa for onger matches, then it seems likely that most of the top GMs will compete. Short should look to it as a chance, bogus or not, to revive his

Kamsky-Karpov, 6th game

e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nf6 Karpov lost game two and won game four with his favourite Caro-Kann 1 . . . c6, so he spoils the Kamsky camp's homework by testing a reserve defence which he has played previously.

3 d4 Nxe4 4 Bd3 d5 5 Nxe5 Nd7 6 Nxd7 Bxd7 7 0-0 Bd6 8 ering Redgrave. The future of the re- Nc3 Qh4 Nxc3 9 bxc3 0-0 is the serve and of Britain's largest, most | book line, when White can make his

NIGEL SHORT recently de-scribed the Karpov-Kamsky Black chose Kf8 in a Spanish game

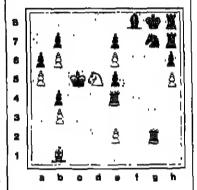
12 Be2 Qf5 13 Rb1 b6 14 c4 dxc4 15 Bxc4 Re8 16 Be3 Bc6 17 d5 Bd7 18 Bf1 h6 19 c4 Re7 20 Bd3 Qf6 White is snugly castled while Black's king is stuck in the centre, but White can't easily 3 make progress as there are no knights for infiltration at c6 or b5.

21 Kg2 21 Bc2 planning Ba4 is met by Qc3, but 21 Rc1 Ke8 22 Bc2 and Qd3-h7 looks stronger. Ke8 22 Bc2 Qc3 23 Bb3 KR 24 Rc1 Qf6 25 Bc2 Rae8 26 Qd3 Bg4 27 Bd2?? 27 Qh7 u5 is

unclear, Instead, Kamsky misses a

Re2 28 Rxe2 Rxe2 29 Rf1 Rxd2! 30 Resigns. Winning the house. If 30 Qxd2 Qf3+ 31 Kg1 Bh3 32 Be4 Oxe4 33 f3 Of5! when White loses his rook or is mated after 34 Re I Bc5+ 35 Kb1 Qxf3+.

No 2429



any defence (by S Nikolaev, 1994). The Problemist magazine (£15 for six issues from 16 Cranford Close. Woodmancote, Cheltenham GL52 4QA) quotes this intriguing puzzle where Black has no legal moves and the mate arises from a single wellhidden line of play.

No 2428: (a) Rxb4 2 Qxd8+ Kh73 Qg5| Rxb3? 4 Qh5+ and 5 Qxf7+ (b) Rd3 forces a K+P ending (c) Rd2! 2

Cycling Tour de France

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Indurain survives the Alps

William Fotheringham

VGENY BERZIN, the precocious Russian prodigy who toppled Miguel Indurain in the 1994 Tour of Italy, finally came of age last weekend in the Alps, en-tering his adopted Italy in the leader's yellow jersey on Monday.

The race was perfectly polsed for

another showdown in the massive mountain stage to the Sestriere ski resort, though snow and gusting winds forced Monday's stage to be

shortened.

The blond Russian's experience of the Alps last year was mostly gained from within his team car after he quit. This year has been different altogether. On Saturday Berzin merely observed, in as much comfort as is possible while riding 125 miles over three mountains in pouring rain, while Blarne Riis's Telekom team took the race apart and Indurain suffered his worst few minutes in any of the last six Tours.

By Saturday evening Berzin led the race but there was no margin for error. Remarkably, after almost 1,000 miles' racing, Abraham Olano of Spain, the current world champion, was in the same time, and the Russian held the rellow jersey only because he had finished 0.16sec ahead of Olano in the prologue time trial a week earlies

Behind these two the top 10 - including men with lealthy Tour pedigrees such as Tony Rominger, Piotr Ugroumov, Riis and Richard Virenque — were covered by 1min 2sec. The sensational stage left the yellow jersey very nuch up for grabs.

the valley road from Bourg Saint Maurice to Val d'sère, was bound to shuffle the order again and so it | upped the pace to dispose of the proved. Berzin's rictory was con- young pretender, and the five-times vincing but not enough to destroy | winner followed that with an inex- | editor of Cycling Weekly

the hopes of Ris, who confirmed (orable increase in tempo of the kind

Silppery alope . . . Indurain feels the strain during last Sunday's individual time trial to Val d'Isère PHOTOGRAPH: PETER DE JONG

the progress he made last year. On Monday the race lead -Berzin's by a tenuous 43 seconds at the start - slipped away as Riis forged shead over the Col de Montgenevre to the Italian border and

the climb to the finish at Sestriere. With every mile the young Russ lan became less assured. Two miles from the finish it was Indurain who

which proved so devastating in 1994 and 1995. Only Rominger, Luc Leblanc and Virenque could hold him. By the finish Rils was not far ahead and Berzin was grovelling a minute back. In the most dramatic Tour since

the LeMond victory in 1989, in durain has put himself firmly back in the running for a sixth win.

William Fotheringham is features

club record when four batsmen -

Cricket Third Test: England v India

England go to sleep after a feast of runs

Mike Selvey at Trent Bridge

HE game between England and India looked like petering out to dull draw on Tuesday after both sides took two days each to amass huge first innings totals in the third Test, with Mike Atherton's men needing only a draw to win the three-match series.

It started well. India won the toss and their new young batting star, Saurav Ganguly, shone again, joining an élite band of players who have scored two centuries in their first two Tests, in the process he shared a record-breaking 255-run partnership with Sachin Tendulkar.

But after four days on a flat-top near enough on the same terms as they started. Once England had passed the follow-on figure with the last ball of Saturday's play the game was virtually condemned to a draw.

But so somnoient were proceed-ings on Monday that only 228 runs came from 91 overs. By the close the nationce of the small crowd, unlike the batsmen's, was exhausted and they were reduced to jeering

With the home side on 550 for seven in reply to 521, and no compelling reason why they should try to set up a grand finale, Atherton seemed likely to win his second series as captain and only England's fourth since 1985.

ln an era where English cricket has slumped to the level of a buil for comedians' humour, that is no mean achievement. With the exception of the crazy, last-ditch defeat in Cape Town, England have not lost a Test since the third against West Indies l i matches ago. There was just a chance that Eng-

land, on what remained an extremely good batting pitch and assuming they had the inclination, could have aimed for a reasonable advantage to put some pressure on india — if only to have the last word. Instead, with batsmen finding no

sort of touch against excellent seam bowling from Srinath and Prasad, the day was devoid of intent. Nasser Hussain was unable to continue his innings of 107, having fractured his finger in the last over of play on Saturday. But Atherton, who might have had ideas of converting his century into a double and perhaps beyond, instead scratched around for an hour, scored 15 more runs and was out for 160.

There was 45 from Graham Thorpe, although he failed to convince, and a pleasant debut innings from Mark Ealham, who at least showed some positive intentions in making 51 before spooning a catch to backward point.

Perhaps the most telling innings of the day, however, came from Graeme Hick, the peaks and troughs of whose Test career are beginning to resemble an Alpine stage of the Tour de France. Each time he struggles to the top and looks like pulling on the yellow jersey, he falls off his bike. This series has been an abomination for him, with scores of eight, one and six in the previous two matches followed by an excruciating 20 on Monday in wo hours and 20 minutes.

Hick, with 87 first-class hundreds to his name, is regarded as the prime thunderbat in the England side. A year ago he scored a century on this ground and, with an orthodox stance and a declaration of tough ness, he began to look the part.

This is Hick's sixth summer as a England player and in four of the previous five he has failed to make t through a complete series. Although he has been up against two superb bowlers in Srinath and Prasad, the looming prospect of Wasini, Wagar and the rest will make neither him nor the selectors steep soundly.

India 521 (Tendulkar 177, Ganguly 136, Dravid 84): England 550-7 (Atherton 160, Hussain 107) after four days of play

Sports diary Mike Kiely

Roar power

MID the utual delicacies on the Wimbedon menu of downpours disputed line calls and overpried strawberries, Tiger Tim" Haman provided Britain with a brie taste of Centre

The unassuming 21-year-old was Britain's very our mouse that roared, earning hisstripes thanks to victories over oppoents of the call-Roger Taylor in 197,

Sadly, "Tiger Tin' bowed after a straight sets defea by American Todd Martin, 7-6,7-66-4, but he provided evidence that Britain may at last be producing plyers capable of

MID the usual delicacies on the Wimbedon menu of ABritain's Sally Gunnell as the Olympic 400 metres champion pulled up at a meeting in Lausanne. Having missed last year's World Championships because of an injury to her right achilles that eventually required surgery, Gunnell was this time left nursing her left leg.

Linford Christie was left in no doubt of the task facing him in the bre of French (pen champion 200 metres when Frankle Freder-Yevgeny Kafelnikoto claim a quar-ter-final place — ne first British race unbeaten run in Oslo, beating. tering his third Commonwealth record in 11 days.

surviving in the jugie of Grand | cricket team for the Test and one day series against Pakistan later this Switzerland's Maina Hingis besummer. Meanwhile the men's and
came the younge. Wimbledon women's games notched up a cou-

Stephen James, Hugh Morris, Matthew Maynard, and Tony Cottey - all made centuries in the same in-nings. New Road, Worcester witnessed New Zealand opener Debbie Hockley become the third woman to notch up four centuries for her country, in the second Test against England. Hockley joins England's Enid Bakewell and India's Sandja Agarwal in this exclusive club.

C OLIN Montgomerie won the Irish Open at Druids Glen after Andrew Oldcorn threw away the title on the last green. Overnight do when he reached the par-four 18th, Montgomerie having already posted a 68 for a five-under total of 279. But he took three to reach the green and then another three putts to leave Monty holding the trophy.

champion at 15 year and 282 days ple of milestones. In the County down to the new football season when she partnered lelens Sukova Championship match between began. The transfer market reat 31, twice Hingis age — to vic- Gloucestershire and Glamorgan at | flected the burgeoning financial pull tory in the Women's publication | Bristol, the visiting team set a new | of the Premiership as Italian Serie A | Michael Schumacher's participation | Shiv Sharma is on holiday



stars Fabrizio Ravanelli and Roberto Di Matteo joined Middlesbrough and Chelsea respectively.

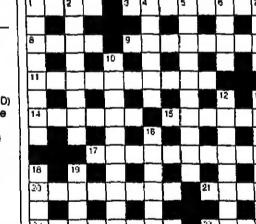
from Galatasaray, Graeme Souness surfaced in Southampton, promising to distribute some much needed Turkish delight at the South Coast club - in contrast to the more abrasive style of management he had practised at Rangers and Liverpool.

A LL IS definitely not well at Fer-rari in the run-up to this Sunday's British Grand Prix. Following the engine trouble that had ruled out

at Magny-Cours at the end of last month, the Italian team's racing di rector Jean Tout had an offer of resignation turned down. Meanwhile Schumacher has been immersed in intensive testing at Monza in an at-tempt to put behind him the series of mechanical failures that have dogged his defence of the title.

THE self-styled Dark Destroyer of British boxing, Nigel Benn, went out with a whimper rather than a bang in the fourth round of the World Boxing Organisation super-middleweight title fight against Ireland's Steve Collins. The 32-yearold from Ilford was forced to retire after twisting his right ankle.

THE IM HENMAN wasn't the only Bachelor Boy wooing the Wint bledon faithful. With the storm clouds putting a dampener on the Centre Court atmosphere, who should pop up with a little knight music but Sir Cliff Richard. With backing from a group of lady players. the eternally youthful singer plundered his back catalogue to keep the nunters in Summer Holiday mood.



Down

- 2 Calculated (8) d Source (6)
- 5 Organised sureading of intermation.
- rumour etc (10) 6 Whirlpool (4) 7 Merit (4) 10 Completely

different (5,6)

12 The greater number (8)



13 Investigation (8) 16 Very drunk (6) 18 Measure - a

♥ 10 4 2 • 1 10 8 4 3

with the ace of diamonds and no. trump, he must fall a trick short champion player who held them at the time:

champion player who held them at champion player who held the player who held the

¥ 10 4 2 10843 432 ♥AKJ86 ♥ Q97 ◆ Q9752 ♠ AQ 1098 **₩** 53 *85432

★ KJ765

was recently invited to form part of of hearts, on which you play the asked yourself why partner had three, South will make 11 tricks or two rounds followed by a club or fewer than ten ruffs! If you play a perfectly well on his own. But he always good technique - even in

1 What dogs do about trees (4)

When in 1993 the Netherlands

Melcher continues to provide Dutch players with wonderful bridge in wonderful settings, and 1 a team to play against the current Dutch side.

medieval castle that could only lead to the third trick? I hope you have belonged to a real-life fairy said a trump, because the full hand

little from jet lag. Take the East cards above and ♣ AKQ 107

ner down. If you did, your task taken the apparent risk of underleading his ace of hearts at the second trick. Obviously, he wanted you to be on lead at trick three, so wanted you to do something he could not do himself. If the required defence was three rounds of hearts. diamond switch, he could do that could not play a trump. Trying to see

3 Perfect --finish (8) 8 Prickling (4) 9 Chaos (8) 11 Of animal life (10) 14 Jackel — made of hemp? (6) 15 Glass bottle (6) 17 Set menu (5,5) 20 Menu with choice (1.2,5) 21 Row (4) 22 Gift (8)

CONSIDERATION
PTIORA
SEPAR LIBRETTO
OETIAN
INTWOMINDS

Bridge Zla Mahmood

thing as a fairy godfather, but if there is, then Hans Melcher fulfils that role as far as Dutch bridge is

Hans is a wealthy businessman who dreamed that the Dutch national team could one day be world champions. So he hired the best coaches and provided the best

beat Norway in the final of the Bermuda Bowl, his dream had

in such surroundings it is not always easy to play perfect bridge, especially when you are suffering a

◆ A K Q 107 This has been the bidding at love all:

seven to show an odd number. He next leads a low heart to your queen, declarer following suit. What do you

is at the top of the next column. If you do not play a trump at trick

the hand through partner's eyes is

Quick crossword no. 322

23 Legend (4)

Snowstorm (8)

patio (4) 19 Mend clamnt (4) Last week's solution

ILLUSTRATION: ANN HOBDAY

businesses - the type of partner-

ship that is becoming common and

signals an increasingly innovative

Essex and Suffolk Water, owned

by a French multinational, has

agreed to re-site its Redgrave bore-

hole, while the water company, the

British government's Environmental

Agency and the European Union

have all made financial contributions

to the Suffolk Wildlife Trust's

The whole rescue mission has

one final inspiring element, which

comes, of all places, from the

wetlands of Poland. "Koulk" ponies.

an ancient breed closely related to Europe's original wild horses, are

renowned for their toughness and

ndiscriminate appetite, including

the rank vegetation currently smoth-

\$5.4 million Redgrave project.

approach to environmental issues.

see if you can do better than the since he can establish neither a long

I trust you did not let your part-